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FRENCH ETYMOLOGIES

I. Fr. *harnais*, Eng. *harness*

The etymology has long been doubtful. Celtic origin has been generally abandoned; the *Dictionnaire général* (completed 1900) made a new proposal: "Dérivé d'un radical *harn-*, d'origine inconnue, à l'aide du suffixe *-isk*, *-eis*, *-ois*, *-ais*." Meyer-Lübke (*Roman. etym. Wörterbuch*, 4119) and Sheldon (*Webster's Dictionary*, 1910) give a qualified approval to Baist's more recent suggestion that the source was Norse *Herr*+*nest* 'viaticum'; cf. *vegnest*, *farnest*, 'Wegvorrat' 'Fahrtvorrat,' with contamination of suffix.¹

The O. Fr. forms, aside from the variation *her-*, *har-*, are three: *hernas*, *hernès*, *herneis*. The verb (*a*)*herneschier*, *hernaschier*, and other derivatives show the same alternation of vowel.² With *nēst* it is impossible to explain these frequent forms in *-nas*; the mediaeval Pic. texts show rather consistently *harnas* (Philippe Mousket, Adam de la Hale, *Aiol*), so in Dutch (see *Romania*, XXX, 100) and Wallonian, but never Pic. **harniēs*,³ as we might expect if we were dealing with the vowel of *nēsan*.

In a discussion of these difficulties with my colleague F. A. Wood, he proposed as second element of the compound G. **nast*, pl. **nesti*, 'strap,' 'band,' a ground-form inferred by Grimm from mod. G. *Nestel*. Ital. *nastro* 'ribbon,' O. Pr. *nala*, and O. Fr. *nasliere*, the last recently established by A. Thomas (see *Romania*, XXXIX,

¹ *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXII (1908), 38. From "germ. ou celt. **harnask*, d'où aussi **harnisk*," was proposed by A. Wallensköld, *Mélanges Wahlund*, 1896, p. 147.

² Preserved, here and there, to the present day; see *Atlas linguistique*, carte no. 684.

³ Cf. *viés-toi*, Ph. Mousket's *Chronique*, 24102, from Lat. *vesti*.

239) are important derivations from the same source; see also the next article, II. *lanière*. The original meaning of *heri-nast*, *heri-nesti* would be 'army-strap(s)', 'army-band(s)', whence 'army-gear' of all kinds, 'gear' in general, 'equipment.' The declensions from which resulted the three indeclinables *hernas*, *hernès*, *herneis*, may be reconstructed as follows:

- I. Sg. nom. *hernast-s* > *hernaz*, Pic. *hernas*
obl. *hernas(t)*

Remarkably enough, the last form is preserved in Froissart, ed. Luce, IV, p. 211, V.L.: *des chevaulx et du harnast*, unless this is a new formation from nom. *harnas*, on the analogy of *mas*, obl. *mast*.

- II. The Pl., used as such and as a collective Sg.:

- nom. *hernesti* > *hernes(t)*
obl. *hernest-s* > *hernez*, Pic. *hernès*

So *hernès* (: *lais*), *G. de Dole*, 2616;¹ (: *fres*) *Escoufle*, 1587.

- III. From II, on the analogy of pairs like *freis-fres*, *Tieis-Tiès*, *Angleis-Anglès* :

- nom. *herneis*, Troie, 7812; later *hernois*
obl. *herneis*, Eliduc, 259; later *hernois*.

I note also the new-made obl. *harnoi* (: *palefroï*) in *Partonopeus de Blois*, 5544, and elsewhere.

Obviously the vowel of **nesti* supplies the O. Fr. *ě* which is needed to explain the early confusion with the G. suffix *-isk* > *-eis* and *-es*; *něsan*, on the other hand, would have furnished *è* (or *ie*) in O. Fr. It is evident that the word belonged originally to the Pic. region; when it appeared in Normanno-Angevin French (Gaimar, Wace, Benoît, Marie de France), it was in the new form *her-*, *harneis*, and its subsequent history is not different from that of other substantives in *-ois*, *-ais*.

¹ The form *harnès* (: *oès* < *opus*), *G. de Dole*, 2004, is not a phonetic spelling, but is due rather to the desire to rime for the eye; so 5377 *oisiaus* is written for *oisus* to rime with *ciaus* (error here for *ceus*). Another striking instance is *palois* (þ *palès*) *Partonopeus de Blois*, I, 55, 58, due to the rime-word *dois*; so also a scribe was capable of writing *Lanceloit* when the Impf. 3 ending shifted from *-ot* to *-oit* (*Fergus*, 146, 12). Meyer-Lübke's doubts whether the spelling *harnès* is in any way phonetically significant (*Hist. Franz. Gram.*, I, § 55) are therefore well founded. Other rimes of *oe* : *e* in *G. de Dole* are *voel* : *escucel* 3149, *avoques* : *arcevesques* 4987, not to mention the frequent *soen* : *sen* 597, etc. As to *esloint* (: *maint* < *manet*) 4193, Matzke speaks of *esloint* as an early isolated instance of *oi* > *oè*, but he did not insist very strongly upon this interpretation. In view of all the facts it seems preferable to explain it as *eslueint*, cf. Eng. *quaint* for *queint*, and Pic. *engin* for *engin* (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXI [1906], 655).

II. Fr. *lanière*, Eng. *lanyard*

O. Fr. *lasniere*, 'strap,' 'thong,' seems to have issued from O. Fr. *nasliere*, 'cordon' > G. **nastila* + *-aria*¹ by reciprocal metathesis, *n . . l* passing to *l . . n*, as **alenare* for Lat. *anhelare*,² *quelogne* (Villon) for *quenoille*, O. Fr. *celenier*, G. *Kellner*, as compared with O. Fr. *cenelher*, both originally from *cellarius*.³ The opposite change in Sp. *cantinela* from *cantilena*, *guirnalda* from *guirlanda*. Dissimilation of *n . . n*, in the combination *une nasliere* > *une lasniere* was possibly not without influence upon the transposition of the consonants.

III. Fr. *cocu*, Eng. *cuckold*

Before entering upon a discussion of the derivation, I offer some considerations as to the cause of the ancient association of this bird with a husband whose wife is unchaste.

The dictionaries continue to explain that the cuckoo is known to lay its egg in another bird's nest. This is the time-honored explanation, but upon examination the reasoning involved appears somewhat confused. If the female cuckoo deposits her egg in a song-sparrow's nest, the injured party is certainly the song-sparrow, and not the male cuckoo; the latter, we imagine, consents to the trick and is not in the least to be commiserated; quite the contrary, for he escapes the labor of nest-building and the care of the fledgling. Nor does the logical hitch disappear if, with others, we twist the statement and allege that the *cocu* "causes another man to raise his children," for it is the essence of cuckoldom that the husband is *ridiculisé* (to use Rostand's amusing word) against his will. The *Dict. gén.* explains: "la femelle du coucou va dans le nid d'autres oiseaux." While this formulation approaches nearer the truth, it does not, I believe, quite hit the mark. What is needed is the bird in the rôle of the unwilling husband of a voluntarily adulterous wife, the husband being justly an object of ridicule because of stupidity or weakness.⁴

¹ A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIX (1910), 239.

² A. Thomas, *Nouveaux Essais*, p. 276, adduces additional proof of this metathesis.

³ G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 142.

⁴ Diez, with his usual lucidity, perceived the difficulty and questioned: "gab man dem betrogenen ehemann per antiphrasin den namen des vogels, der seine eier in fremde nester legt?" Dr. Johnson easily explained that 'cuckoo' was transferred from the adulterer to the husband "by mistake." The solution proposed by Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, II, 89, is similar and equally confused.

The male cuckoos, we learn from various sources, live apart: during the mating season each occupies a sort of district or *canton*; the female, on the contrary, frequents a larger region, passing from one *canton* to another, and, says one of our informants, "y fait choix d'un mâle avec lequel elle s'accouple. Aussitôt qu'elle a pondu le fruit de cet accouplement, elle va chercher un nouveau mâle pour l'abandonner bientôt comme le premier." And further: "Prévost prétend que l'accouplement est souvent répété trente fois et davantage dans le même jour; mais cet excès dure peu, et dès le troisième jour les deux amis commencent à se négliger, la femelle quitte son privilégié de la veille pour en choisir un nouveau."¹ Here the male cuckoo appears in quite a different rôle: he is now the neglected former mate of a shameless female. May we not be reminded at this point that the folk-mind is generally keen and accurate in observation? During long generations, spring after spring, sharp eyes have noted the loose mating habits of the female cuckoo, and the indifference or cowardice of the male; hence he became, in the mind of the countryman, the cuckold *par excellence*. This explanation receives strong confirmation from the well-known fact that Lat. *cuculus*, like G. *Gauch* and Pr. *cogotz*, is applied at times to the adulterer. Littré cites Du Verdier: "Non seulement ceux qui abusent des femmes d'autrui, mais aussi les maris abusés sont appelés cocus." Similarly a G. couplet, quoted by Sardinha: Der Kukuk ist ein braver Mann / Der sieben Frauen halten kann.

The fact appears to be that the original framer of what has hitherto been the received explanation hit upon what is perhaps the most peculiar habit of the cuckoo, that of not raising its own young, and overlooked another marked peculiarity, the conspicuous infidelity of the amorous female. The latter habit, it must be admitted, was far more likely to arrest the attention of the *vilain*, who, while he was certainly a keen observer, could not be expected to investigate with the thoroughness of an ornithologist.

Unlike the editors of the *Dict. gén.* and of the *New Eng. Dict.*, I can find no serious obstacle to Diez' derivation of Fr. *cocu* from Lat. *cûcûlus*. The *cuku* (or *cuccu*) of MS Y of the *Fables* of Marie de France (Fable xlv) is ϕ *cocu*, the loss of -l being due either to the

¹ Manoel da Silva Sardinha, *De Cuculo Canoro*, Diss. Zool., Bonn. 1877, pp. 11, 13.

nom. *cocus*, which in turn is quite regular: cf. nom. *cus*, obl. *cul* and *cu* < Lat. *cūlus*,¹ or the final consonant may have been dropped to make the word more perfectly echoic, for, as Meyer-Lübke very truly says, "die Schallnachahmung spielt gerade hier eine grosse Rolle." The normal development in mod. Fr. would have been *cocu*, instanced by Thurot (I, 263) but rare. E. Deschamps (I, 206; III, 296) has the form *cucu* (ϕ *cūcū*) due to assimilation of the first syllable to the second, while in mod. Fr. *coucou* the second has been assimilated to the first.²

The persistence of Lat. *ū* as *ū* in Fr. *cocu*, *cucu*, Pr. *cogul*, and the existence of the forms in *-l*, speak strongly in favor of the derivation from Lat. *cūcūlus*; there remains the "irregular" pretonic vowel (*o* instead of *ou*). This has been attributed to the provençal forms, to the influence of *coquin*, *coquart* (*Dict. gén.*) and to association with *coq* (Brinkmann; cf. G. Hahnrei). We have, however, in mod. Fr. a group of similar unexplained exceptions, among which are such common words as *corvée*, *ortie*, *forest*, *soleil*, and we are bound to ask whether *cocu* may not also be assigned to this group.

Examining the rich material collected by Thurot,³ we find that with *ū* in tonic position and pretonic *o* in open syllable, there has been in Middle French an unmistakable hesitation between *o* and *ou*: *molue* (or *morue*, Et. Boileau) and *moulue* (R. Estienne); *golu* and *goulu*, *encolure* and *encoulure*. Also with *i* in the tonic:

¹ Godefroy has an example of the shortened form (*cu*) from the fifteenth century. Nyrop cites one from the sixteenth (Montaignon-Rothschild collection, V, 256) but the form is probably much older. In *nul* < Lat. *nullus*, final *-l* has been more resistant, but here we are dealing with *ll*, and there is besides the fem. O. Fr. *nule*. I have however noted the pun: *Nu(l) comme un ver*, in a modern cartoon.

² The *Atlas linguistique* (B 1520) shows (1) some instances of *cocu*; (2) that at present the tonic *-cu* has been replaced by *-cou* over the whole North; (3) *cocē* is found in a broad zone which extends east and west (Depts. Creuse, Ain, Haute-Saône). That *-cu* formerly existed also in the North is proved sufficiently by the rimes *cuccu*: *fu*, Marie de France; *cucus*: *plus*: *salu*, Eustache Deschamps, as cited above, and others entered by Godefroy. Other variants are *coquou* (R. Estienne, *Thes.*), *coqueu* (Palsgrave) the latter also in the place-name *Chantecoqueu* (see P. Skok, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXII [1908], 557). *Coqueu* represents a type with the suffix *-slus*: nom. *coqueus*, obl. *coquel* (cf. Godefroy, II, 400, who in error prints *cuknel*); in another North French territory we should have from the same source an obl. *couquiol* (as *diolt* < Lat. *dolet*) often attested. In Anglo-Norman, the reduction of *ue* to *o*, as in *aiol*, *bercol*, *fillol*, *dol* (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 78) would result in a form *coucol*, *cucol*, which may have given us *cuckold*, with excrement *-d*, or by folk-etymology (*old*) or by crossing with the forms in *-alt*. One of the Pr. forms, *cogul*, is discussed by Meyer-Lübke, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, II, 386.

³ *De la Prononciation française*, I, 252-66.

polie and *poulie*, *sois* and *souris*, *norrir* and *nourrir*; with other high-front vowels: *rosée* and *rousée*, *solier* and *soulier*, *soleil* and *souleil* (E. Deschamps); *gosier* and *gousier*, and many others. The case of *moulue* and *cocu* differs, however, from the others in that both vowels are strongly rounded, and the preference for *morue*, *cocu* is to be explained as a dissimilation by partial unrounding which at the same time relieved somewhat the difficult tongue-shift from *ou* to *ü*.¹

IV. Fr. *contretemps*

A. Darmesteter explained *entretemps* and *contretemps* as compounds of *contre* and *temps*, *entre* and *temps*.² Nothing apparently could be more obvious, yet there is good reason to suppose an entirely different origin for both these words.

As to *contretemps*, 'untoward accident, or opposition,' Bouhours (1671) speaks of it as "un terme assez nouveau" (*Dict. gén.*); *contratempo* is also of late appearance in Italian. The expressions *agir*, *faire*, and especially *aller à contretemps* suggest the O. Fr. participle and gerundive *contrestant*, 'opposing,' later *contretant*, appearing oftenest in the adv., conj., and prep., *non contretant (que)*. For the erroneous spelling there is a close parallel in *entretant*, not seldom written *entretemps* in Froissart (see *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VII, 18); cf. also *je attemps* for *j'attends*, *je antemps*, *estre contemps* in the letters of Catherine de Médicis (III, 145, 253; VII, 297). The *Dict. gén.* explains Fr. *entretemps* as "altération par fausse étymologie" of O. Fr. *entretant* (< *inter tantum*) 'meanwhile.' Thus in Mme. de Sévigné's *tout est à craindre dans cet entretemps*, the adverb has become a substantive, offering us a close parallel to *contretemps*.

¹ Extremely interesting is T. Cornelle's characterization of the pronunciation *norrir*, *norrice* for *nourrir*, *nourrice* as "une prononciation trop délicate" "affectée par la pluspart des femmes." (Thurot, *op. cit.*, I, 254). Have we here facts which might serve as basis to a theory of vowel-harmony in French, already hinted at by Jespersen and Rousselot? However that may be, certain it is that statements like that of Schwan-Behrens (8th ed., §§ 91, 95) are too systematic. To explain *o* in *soleil* as etymological reaction, for example, is beside the mark: such an explanation, considering that no word could be more of a folk-word than this, is incredible. Nothing is gained by elaborating fixed rules where what is classed as "irregular" is as important as the "regular." Even for pedagogical purposes, as Meyer-Lübke has recently emphasized (*Hist. Frz. Grammatik*, Vorwort, p. x) too much is lost if the exceptions to rules and laws are hidden away or their importance minimized.

² *Traité de la Formation des mots composés dans la langue française*, 1874.

While *contrester* is an ancient Romance verb, of frequent use in the older periods of French (Crestien, Garnier, Jean de Meun, Gilles li Muisis) thus far I have not succeeded in finding the needed instance of *aler*, or *venir*, with a *contrestant*. It is suprising that neither Stimming¹ nor Pfeiffer² quotes instances of *aller a*, *venir a*, with the ger. in *-ant*, although indications are not wanting that this formula had a wide use in pre-literary French.³ Bourciez⁴ quotes "a. fr. *aler à chevauchant*," without however citing a passage in proof. *Conq. de Jérusalem*, 1213: *estes vos lor a tant, De la grant lor David .iii. oiselés volant, Par desor le pomel aloient a roant*; *ibid.*, 6870: *la vienent a hiant* seem to be genuine instances, as only the simple verbs *roër*, *hiër* are known elsewhere. But to approach the subject in this way would be to confine ourselves to too narrow a view; the epics of the thirteenth century represent rather the close of a period of evolution in the uses of the gerundive. A juster method of approach would be to inquire whether the frequent variation *vait tarjant* *vait atarjant*; *dont plus li vait pesant* (*Conq. de Jér.*, 3912) compared with: *Cum me vas apesant* (*Ch. de Willalme*, 729); *La compaignie Richart alout tuz tens creissant* (*Rou*, II, 4091) compared with *La gent nostre Seigneur va tousjours accroissant* (*Ch. d'Antioche*, II, 267) may not have its origin in twin formulae *vait tarjant* *vait à tarjant*, *aler baiant* *aler à baiant*, *venir volant* *venir à volant*, etc. Châteaubriand used *aller croissant*, Zola *aller en croissant* (Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 35); a similar liberty may have been exercised with *à* in the oldest periods of French, a situation which would favor the appearance of the numerous pairs like *peser* *apeser*, *tapir* *atapir*, *rengier* *arengier*, etc.

V. O. Fr. *hanse*, 'tax,' 'dues'

In the glossary to the romance of *Guillaume de Dole*, *ense*, which occurs vs. 1899: *Bien avez hui païé vostre ense* (: *porpense*) is entered as a "*mot altéré*." Mussafia, however, was inclined to hold fast to the MS reading: "so werden wir in *ense* ein bisher meines Wissens nicht nachgewiesenes Wort erkennen."⁵ This judgment is only

¹ *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, X (1896), 526 ff.

² *Umschreibung des Verbums im Französischen durch aller, venir + Gerundium*, Göttingen Diss., 1909.

³ Tobler, *Beiträge*, I, 45.

⁴ *Éléments de Linguistique romane*, p. 387.

⁵ *Zur Kritik u. Interpretation roman. Texte*, III, 13, n.; *Sitz. Wien. Akad.*, CXXXVI.

partially correct, for every consideration points toward identification of *ense*, as a Pic. spelling, with *hanse* as used by Gautier de Coinci (cited by Godefroy s.v.): *Ou feu d'enfer, tot main a main, Lor covendra paier la hanse*. Godefroy also enters *hanse* as signifying, at Rouen, "certains droits sur les marchandises venant par l'eau," with which agrees mod. Dutch *hanze*. In this sense too is the proverb in Leroux de Lincy's collection (II, p. 76): *Au soir danse Qui matin hanse*.

It is uncertain whether the author of *G. de Dole* pronounced *ense* or *anse*, for he occasionally rimes *en* : *an*, as *gens* : *sachanz* 1992; so 2218, 3008, 4356. At any rate, cases of Pic. substitution of *en* for *an* are well known (see Suchier, *Aucassin u. Nicolette*⁶, p. 73). The non-appearance of *G. h-* has been noticed more than once in Pic. texts and made the subject of comment.¹ It can hardly be accident that the same hesitation is met with in Flemish texts of about the same period: *ane* (Hahn) *ant* (Hant) *out* (Holz).² Similarly Lübken's *MND Grammar*, § 44, cites *ansestat* for *hansestat*. The form without *h-* is therefore attested. At the same time, it is not impossible after all that we should read here *vo hanse*, for the *Escoufle* romance, very probably written by the author of *G. de Dole*, uses both forms: *vostre fille* 2163, and, a few lines below: *Vo fille avra le roi de France*. In either case, the identity of *ense* with *G. hanse* cannot be doubted.

VI. O. Fr. *enor*, 'ear-ring'

In a review of the new *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, A. Thomas (see *Romania*, XLI [1912], 459) asks for instances of this rare word, from Lat. *inauris*. In the versified *Eruclavit*, which I have attributed to Adam de Perseigne, the poet expands vss. 14-15 (*Omnis gloria ejus filiae regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis, circumamicta varietatibus*) as follows: *El cuer sont les frengetes d'or, Li treceor et li anor, Li joël, li tissu de soie Que la pucele li anvoie*.³ Godefroy (IV, 491, s.v. *honor*) furnishes us with another example, from the thirteenth century, which he erroneously defines: 'les marques, les attributs de la dignité.' This passage reads: *Laiens erent lor femes,*

¹ Scheler, *Dict.*, s.v. *hanter*; Foerster in the glossary to *Aiol*; Helfenbein, *Die Sprache des Trouveres Adam de la Hale* (1911), § 73.

² J. Franck, *Mittelniederländische Grammatik*, 1910, § 115, 3, p. 100. I am indebted for these references to Mr. R. M. Ihrig.

³ Vss. 1673 ff. See also the note, p. 103.

qui moult ont gens les cors, Vestues de diaspre, de cendaus et d'anors.¹ It is impossible not to recognize here Lat. *inauris*, so frequent in the Vulgate and elsewhere in the meaning of 'ear-ring.' The only difficulty is the change of gender, but because of the absolute lack of fems. in -*or* in O. Fr., the word appears to have been associated at an early date with the mascs. *or*, *tor* < *taurum*, *tresor*.

VII. O. Fr. *desnir*, 'grow old'

Manuscript A of the poem *Eruclavit* (*Bib. Nat.*, f.f. 2094), which, as I have shown some reason to believe, was written in the region of Mâcon,² is alone in preserving a Ps. Sbj. 3 *desnisce* which requires an infinitive *desnir*, otherwise unknown. In paradise, says the poet—*Ja li hom n'avra mestier Ne de boivre ne de mangier, Qu'el cors n'avra rien qui desnisce, Qui dechiée ne qui blesmisce.* The meaning and form fit remarkably well with Lat. *desenēre*, or *desenescere*, a compound used once by Sallust and attested by Priscian (*Inst.*, X, 20). Sallust also uses *corpus senectum*, very much as in O. Fr. one might speak of *un cors desni*. The derivation *desnir* < **desenire*, for *desenēre*, *desenescēre*, is parallel to *florir* < **florire*, for *florēre*, *florescere*. That *senescere* and *desenescere* could not have differed essentially in meaning is shown by Woelfflin, *Philologus*, XXXIV, 159.

VIII. O. Fr. *feire*, Lat. *foria*

Great interest attaches to the discovery by Mr. J. C. Fox³ that a noble dame Marie, who possibly was Marie de France, was abbess of Shaftesbury during the years 1181–1216. This lady Marie, it appears, was an illegitimate daughter of Geofroi V, Count of Anjou (†1151) hence half-sister of Henry II, and aunt of King John. The mother of at least one of the illegitimate children of Geofroi was "a lady of Maine."

If the abbess of Shaftesbury was really the poetess whose verses, in the time of Denis Pyramus as now,

suelent as dames plaire

E si les funt suvent retraire,

we should be justified in looking closely at her language for evidence of an Angevin environment, and certain rimes, rejected as spurious

¹ From *Les Châtifs*, ed. Hippeau, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, II, 265.

² See my edition of the *Eruclavit*, pp. xxv and 104–5.

³ *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 303; XXVI, 317.

by Warnke, might take on a new significance. Thus *espleit: fait*, El. 223 (cf. 337) thrown out by Warnke, is a rime very common in the contemporary *Partonopeus de Blois*, which, from trustworthy indications, belongs in the Loire valley, possibly in the region of the Sarthe.¹

The object of this note, however, is to attempt an explanation of the puzzling rime *foire: paire* (<*pareat*), *Fables*, p. 265. Has this any significance?

From Lat. *fōria* we should expect, in preliterate times, **fueire*. When we find in Anglo-Norman *foire*, this *oi* is not necessarily to be taken as evidence of *ō* in Lat. *foria*;² it may also be the A.-N. representative of the triphthong, as the well-known forms *oi* (*hodie*), *noit*, *voide* in the Oxford *Roland*, the name *Maldoit* in Domesday Book, and *koyce* (<*coxa*) in Lydgate. On the continent, the *Roman de Troie* 20163 shows *feire*, with the variant (6 MSS) *fere*. What seems to be the same word, used as an exclamation, occurs in the *Sermons* of Maurice de Sully (Boucherie, Niort ed., p. 221): "E quant vint a l'oicten jor si demanderent a la mere coment il [read el ?] vodreit que sis filz oguist non, e ele lor repondit qu'il aureit non Johanz. Feire! firent il, mes en tot ton parenté n'a homme de cest non." The reduction **fueire* to *feire*, *fere*, might be expected after labial: there were parallels in the ancient **fueus* > *feus* (<*focus*), in *ferre* for *fuere*, G. *fōdr*, as Rou, III, 2179 (C), and recently demonstrated for Villon by Meyer-Lübke (*Frz. Hist. Gram.*, I, § 98). Not perhaps strictly dependent upon labial are *meire*, *mere* (**mōriat*) *Liivre des Manieres*, 939, 620, *deire* (*dōcere*) 424; *trée* (Fr. *truie*), Str. CCXXXI, b, with which coincide the mod. place-names *Mée*, *Mées* < *Mōdia* (elsewhere *Muid*, *Muids*) cited by Östberg³ from the Departments

¹ As to *Partonopeus*, both Gröber and Foerster came to a different conclusion. The latter seems to have entirely overlooked the rimes of the type *deis* (discus): *palais*, I, 58, 141; II, 82; *queis* (quietus): *palais*, II, 3; *maneis*: *bellais*, II, 25; *deis* (**ditus* ?): *tu sais*, I, 117. The conclusion is unavoidable that we have in these rimes a point of agreement with the language of Fantosme (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 92) and that of Angier, whatever divergences on other points may exist in the language of these authors. Gröber labeled the poem "pikard," and elsewhere explained the rime *deis*: *palais* as "suddialektisch"; see Van Loock's dissertation, 1881, *Der Partonopier Konrads v. Wurzburg*, p. 2. Foerster's opinion is stated, somewhat over-positively, *Literaturblatt f. Germ. u. Rom. Phil.*, XXIII (1902), coll. 28-29.

² A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXI, 490; Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. etym. Wörterbuch*, 3438. The possibility of contamination with *fētor*, *fētere* might be considered.

³ *Les voyelles vélaires accentuées . . . dans quelques noms de lieux de la France du Nord* (1899), p. 88.

Eure-et-Loir, Mayenne, Manche, Sarthe, and Ille-et-Vilaine; further *quère* (*côcere) and *nère* (nôcere) instanced by Joret (*Mélanges*, pp. xxviii, 51) from the neighborhood of Mortain and Avranches. One may add *anét* for O. Fr. *anuit*, which today has all but disappeared, the extreme end of the Loire valley still offering a few cases: see *Atlas linguistique*, carte 72, *aujourd'hui*.

Both Marie and the author of *Partonopeus*, it is true, show the rime *enui* : *lui*, and while this undoubtedly should stand as an integral feature of their literary language, there is no need to exclude the possibility that in the rime *feire* : *paire* Marie may have admitted a bit of western, or southwestern, dialect.

IX. O. Fr. *Escalibor*

In giving the history of the name of Arthur's sword, the *NED* does not touch upon the matter of the variation *Calibor* *Escalibor*. Some instances of an apparently removable O. Fr. prefix *es-* may be of interest, especially if cases can be found where this *es-* is added to proper names.¹

To deal mainly with substantives: Vergil's *pirus edura* represents a use of *ex-* which reappears later in ecclesiastical Latin: *exapertus* (Augustine), *exorativum* (Cassiodorus); it is no doubt this use which Rustebuef intends to imitate in: *Or prions au roi glorieus, Qui par son sanc esprecieus, Nos osta de destruction*.² So in the *Miracles nostre Dame* of Jean le Marchant: *Illeques sera, sans dotance, Escoronée vostre esperance*.³ Ambrose spoke of Samson as *calvatus* : Raimbaut de Vaqueiras allows his Genoese lady to describe him as *escalvado*. From these a transition to proper names may seem difficult, but the needed intermediary is found in the existence of doublets like *Estiennot* *Thiénot*, *Esmaragdus* *Maragdus*,⁴ in which *es-* has of course a different origin. Certain it is

¹ Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la Langue française*, I², 440, groups together a number instances of "é- parasite" (none of them proper names); the prefix in these instances is, however, of diverse origins, and these should be distinguished. Behrens (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 407) explains some cases due to mis-division of the definite article, and calls for a more thorough investigation of the matter.

² *Complainte du Conte de Nevers*, 170 (ed. Kressner, p. 89). This instance was first noticed by Du Ménil, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et de Littérature*, p. 389, n.

³ Ed. Duplessis, p. 220.

⁴ Manitius, *Geschichte d. Lat. Litt. d. Mittelalters*, 1911, p. 462, notes as variants of the name of Smaragdus de St. Mihel: *Ezmarodus*, *Maragdus*, *Maradus*.

that an important group of these doublets have clerical associations, cf. *espurgatoire*, *esdilwi* 'Deluge' (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*), *escarboucle*. Here, I believe, belong the following: *St. Espoint* for *St. Point* (E. Deschamps, IX, 100); *St. Esblant* for *St. Blanc* (*Roman de Renard*, X, 1517, var.); *sainte Escrestine* (ed. *Estrestine*) for *Ste. Christine* (*Folie Tristan* of Berne, 261, where the editor sees a saint "probablement fantastique"); *mont Escalvaire* (*Coronement Looïs* 761, *Eruc-tavit* 442), which, after the silencing of *s+cons.*, appears as *monte Calvaire* (*Conq. de Jérus.* 864, *Chanson de Roland* 3600, var. in C and V⁷) parallel to *monte Syon*, which is frequent in the translation of the *Maccabees*, and which Goerlich explained (*Roman. Bib.*, II, 99) as a reduction of *mont de Syon*. Goerlich's theory can hardly be correct, for from such a group we should expect *monde* rather than *monte*, as we do in fact have in Balzac's *monde piété* (*Le Cousin Pons*).

In the addition of *es-* a certain "heightening" effect is sought, leading in some cases toward the heroic. A mock-heroic effect seems intended in many of the remarkable names of Saracens listed in Langlois' useful *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, so also in *Espandragon* (*Girart de Rossillon* 150) and *Estrubert*, hero of the fabliau *Trubert*.¹ In this composition we have the best example I have met of the removable prefix: *Es-* is added or not *ad libitum*. Thus: *Et dit Trubert : Se Dieus m'ament* (258); *Dit Estrubert : Ce lo je bien* (560, cf. 357, 551, etc.). To change *Calibor* to *Escalibor* was, from all these analogies, to increase slightly the dignity of the name—to impart to it a shade of the heroic; and this was the work of clerical hands.

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¹ Ed. Ulrich, 1904, *Gesell. f. Rom. Litt.*, Band 4.

THE BEARING ON DRAMATIC SEQUENCE OF THE VARIA IN *RICHARD THE THIRD* AND *KING LEAR*

In studying the larger problem of substitutes for causal sequence in the drama as a whole and in tragedy in particular, I was led to examine Shakespeare's plays with special reference to the question of what bearing the quarto-folio varia might have on dramatic sequence. Naturally, I started with *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* because the plot of *King Lear* is by far the weakest of any of the great tragedies, and because two of the most famous varia in *Richard the Third* are concerned with cruces in dramatic probability. In presenting the evidence that in some of the plays there is a definite relation between the varia and dramatic sequence, I am therefore confining myself to these two plays. For although this would naturally be one of the purposes kept in mind in case Shakespeare did revise any of his plays, yet it will be most evident, if it is evident at all, in the varia of those plays in which the plots are weak.

In the folio version of *Richard the Third* the principal changes that bear on dramatic sequence are necessarily additions to the quarto, for of the total varia of 257 lines only 39 quarto lines are omitted in the folio. On the other hand, many of the varia in *King Lear* that have an evident relation to this principle are found in the 275 quarto lines which the folio omits. The methods of securing dramatic sequence in the two plays are not, however, essentially dissimilar, but arise out of the general nature of Shakespeare's treatment of plot before and after what are generally called the plays of the second period, extending in general from the *Merchant of Venice* in 1596 to *Twelfth Night* and *All's Well* in 1601-2.

So far as the extent of the varia are concerned, an arbitrary basis of comparison might be readily established by taking *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, and *All's Well That Ends Well* as dividing into two groups the plays with quarto editions. For these three plays have no quarto editions, and all plays generally considered as preceding them in which there are a dozen lines of full-line varia have more lines in the folio than they have in the quarto, while

in the two great plays written afterward which have quartos published before Shakespeare's death, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, the folio omits more lines than it adds.

All five comedies which have quarto editions belong to this earlier group. *Love's Labor's Lost*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, the *Merchant of Venice*, and *Much Ado about Nothing* have not, taken all together, twenty lines of full-line varia; but the *Merry Wives of Windsor* had not only been freely added to but in parts rewritten before it reached the folio.

Of the other plays generally considered as written previous to 1600, the quarto of the *First Part of Henry the Fourth* is essentially the same as the folio, and so far as full-line varia are concerned the great and most puzzling differences in *Romeo and Juliet* are those between Q_1 and Q_2 , both published before 1600. *Titus Andronicus*, however, has 80 more lines in the folio than in the quarto, *Richard the Third* has 140, the *Second Part of Henry the Fourth* has 160, and the quarto of *Henry the Fifth* is so incomplete that the Cambridge editors do not mark its omissions. *Richard the Second*, moreover, is only a seeming exception, for though the folio omits 45 lines of the earlier quartos, yet the 165 lines of the abdication scene, published first in the quarto of 1608 and well within the time of the second group, more than offset the seeming discrepancy.

To contrast with these earlier plays to which the folio adds more lines than it omits from the quarto version, we have only two of the later plays of which there were quarto editions published before Shakespeare's death and in which the full-line varia are so numerous as to afford adequate contrast. In each of these two plays, however, there are over twice as many quarto lines omitted from the folio as there are new lines added. The folio of *Hamlet* contains nearly 100 new lines but it omits over 200, while the folio of *King Lear* omits 275 quarto lines and adds only 102.

Naturally, of course, before drawing any conclusions as to whether an explicit effort to secure better dramatic sequence had anything to do with causing the varia, it is necessary to give full credit to other explanations, and more particularly to those most commonly assigned by critics who insist that Shakespeare never revised any of his plays. This is especially necessary merely as a precaution,

since varia might have an evident bearing on dramatic sequence and yet have originated without any special reference to it. In fact it was only after having given due weight to evident and possible printers' errors, players' cuts, etc., and after having checked over the varia that these might explain and those that they could not explain, that I became convinced that there was a causal relation between the principle of dramatic sequence and the varia in *Richard the Third* and *King Lear*.

To understand in full the part dramatic sequence played in transforming the quarto versions into the folio versions, one needs to get rid of any general impressions gained from reading much loose comment as to how early Shakespeare attained to mastery of plot. To be sure, there is a constantly increasing skill in his professional manipulation of plot elements, but the enthusiasm which can see plot excellence in *Titus Andronicus* and the *Comedy of Errors* needs to be calmed by analysis until the impossibly bridged chasms in the *Merchant of Venice* are as evident as the diabolic dexterity of sheer chance in *Romeo and Juliet*. In fact so little important is the closely knit plot to the character of the plays previous to *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*, that it is in no way conceivable how any one of them could either be patched up or remolded, even by Shakespeare, so that it would have unbroken causal sequence.

This is not in any sense a sweeping charge against the dramatic art of a score of Shakespeare's earlier plays. In many of them, especially in those where he was coming fully into his own, Shakespeare was dealing with themes that for the most part need no convincing causal sequence for their fairly adequate development. But after he had tried his master-hand, not only at plots that did require as perfect unbroken causal sequence as he could create, but also at others that taxed to the fullest his skill in supplying something equally convincing where causal connection was logically or dramatically impossible, surely he could have gone back over many of his plays and improved on their dramatic sequence.

To understand how much he could improve a play by revising it without in any sense rewriting it, and by making comparatively few changes, take the plays where the quarto-folio varia are over 200 but under 400 lines, *Richard the Third*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. Of the

plays that were published in quarto before he left London for Stratford surely these three would receive such attention at his hands if any did, and when they are carefully read with reference to the varia both of omission and insertion, they give at least some ground for the belief that at some time or other they did receive such revision. And of all the proof that they did receive such revision, the most evident and perhaps even the most convincing is the careful, consistent effort to improve the dramatic sequence in *Richard the Third* and *King Lear*.

In spite of the fact that *King Lear* was written in the same general period as *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*, and *Richard the Third* so long before, the groundwork of the plot in both is essentially of the same character. In type of subject we should naturally class *King Lear* with *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, but the method of development is essentially the same as that of the historical plays. Of the close-knit causal sequence in *Macbeth*, and of the dramatic sequence in *Othello* and *Coriolanus*, which is so perfect as to be almost causal, *King Lear* has even less than *Richard the Third*. In fact in both *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* the plots are so clearly held together by dramatic sequence of the non-causal type that it is a fascinating study to see how Shakespeare made the sequence more perfect and convincing. His mastery of stagecraft is shown by the skill with which he inserts here a line and there a longer passage that would make the sequence more natural or more convincing, and it is no less evident in his adroit removal of whatever delayed the movement or too manifestly obtruded itself above the current of the plot.

The general groundwork of the plot of *King Lear* is essentially that of the historical plays, but ten years more of practice had greatly increased Shakespeare's skill in linking his incidents together convincingly, and fewer lines are added in the folio of *King Lear* than in the folio of *Richard the Third*. On the other hand, Shakespeare's skill in characterization and his delight in depicting inner conflict had grown until at times it positively got in the way of the plot. The number of lines Shakespeare found it necessary to sacrifice in order to improve the dramatic sequence is therefore far greater in *King Lear* than in *Richard the Third*. Yet the plan of revision is essentially the same in both plays, and so dominant is the effort to

improve both plays in this one particular that not only many of even the two- and three-line varia seem to have been introduced chiefly for this purpose but a surprising proportion of the one-line varia seem surely to have their origin in this alone.

In an article of reasonable length no attempt can be made to make and defend an inclusive list of all the varia which had their origin chiefly in an attempt to improve the dramatic sequence of the two plays. There is so much ground for difference of opinion over particular passages, especially over those varia which can be explained at least in part by other theories, that to attempt to force this theory to cover even all of the varia to which it has proper claim would be to obscure in controversy its real importance in the revision.

Naturally, however, one would expect to find most of the passages upholding the theory of revision for dramatic sequence among the varia of some length. As a matter of fact, all but one of the four-line varia (*Richard Third*, III, iv, 104-7) can be explained without appeal to this theory, and though many of the one-, two-, and three-line varia bear on dramatic sequence, yet if we disregard for the moment all of four lines and under, we have sharpened the outlines of our problem. There are, in fact, only 35 varia of over four lines each, though they amount to a total of 473 lines, and we can still further reduce the number of cases it is necessary to consider by grouping those varia that should be considered together, and by dropping from consideration those which have other equally valid explanations. For by so doing not only will the bearing of many of the longer varia on dramatic sequence be still more unmistakable, but we shall be in a position to test more intelligently the probable origin of many of the minor varia.

Of these 35 varia with a total of 473 lines, there are 25 which fall readily into two classes with reference to dramatic sequence. For most of the others, other explanations may seem more probable, and though all but two or three have at least some bearing on the problem of sequence, yet as in this respect they would need to be considered singly, and as they total only 88 lines, the true relation of the longer varia to dramatic sequence will perhaps stand out more clearly if we consider the 25 varia, with 385 lines, which can be readily considered in larger groups. For we shall have every reason to give

this principle due consideration in the explanation of quarto-folio changes if it can be shown that almost one-half of all the longer varia are omissions of lines which interfered with effective dramatic sequence, and that a fourth of all the longer varia are additions which supply new connections not found in the quarto or which improve upon the quarto in this respect.

To classify these 25 varia briefly as an aid to following the presentation of the chief evidence that *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* were revised with special reference to this principle, there are 14 of these longer varia which were in the quartos, but which the folios omit, which are here grouped together with reference to the effect their mere omission had on dramatic sequence. The remaining 11 will be considered with reference to the general problem of whether the longer varia found first in the folio were in the original version and were omitted in the quarto or whether they were introduced later in order either to provide new sequence or to strengthen the original sequence as found in the quarto.

Of these longer varia in which the sequence is aided by the omission of quarto lines there are three which may most conveniently be grouped as being at or near the end of scenes¹ (*Richard Third*, IV, ii, 103-20; *Lear*, III, vi, 97-101, 102-15; IV, vii, 86-98). Five are evident breaks in the current (*Lear*, III, i, 7-15; III, vi, 17-55; IV, i, 59-64; IV, iii, 1-55; V, iii, 204-21). And perhaps most convincing of all the omissions, there are four of these longer varia in which the quarto lines were omitted from the folio and by the omission of which old types of sequence in common use in the historical plays were discarded (*Lear*, III, vii, 98-106; IV, ii, 31-50; IV, ii, 52-59; IV, ii, 62-68).

Of the group of varia in which new sequence is introduced or old sequence strengthened there are five whose function is evidently a more explicit preparation for what follows (*Richard Third*, II, ii, 89-100; II, ii, 123-40; II, vii, 144-53; *Lear*, I, ii, 157-63; II, iv, 138-43). Two five-line varia in *King Lear* are produced by a change in motivation, as the folio inserts into Gloucester's dialogue with Edmund five lines the essence of which the quarto had had Edgar ridicule when Edmund spoke them (I, ii, 105-9; I, ii, 138-44).

¹ All line numbers refer to the Cambridge *Shakespeare*, and the line count is based on the Cambridge text.

Quite similarly two varia are produced when the folio (I, iv, 323-34) has Goneril explain to Albany instead of to her steward, as the quarto makes her in I, iii, 17-21, the pretended grounds upon which she treats her father as she does. And, finally, there are four varia which deal with cruces in probability (*Richard Third*, I, ii, 155-66; IV, iv, 228-342; *Lear*, III, i, 22-29; III, i, 30-42). In these four passages, in fact, the evidence in favor of explicit revision seems most conclusive, not only because of the passages themselves, but because in three of the four cases it is clear either that the revision was not completed or that the editors or printers failed to give us the completed text in the passages which include these varia.

In taking up these groups of varia and laying stress on their bearing on sequence I do not of course wish to insist that no varium included in this list has any other adequate explanation. Printers' errors and players' cuts are always with us, and in the case of particular varia many may prefer some other explanation of their origin than the one here suggested. But surely the evidence can be presented more fairly as well as more simply by disregarding for the moment other possible explanations of the origin of all varia which, whatever their origin, have an evident bearing on dramatic sequence. I have, however, placed first in the following discussion of each group those varia whose origin may be plausibly explained in some other way, and I have in each group given the final position to the varia which seem most unmistakably to have had their origin in an explicit effort to improve the dramatic sequence.

In considering the longer passages which are not found in the folio we must not be surprised to find that some passages of marked excellence have been omitted. Some of these passages are in fact so dramatic in themselves that even in the abridged modern acting editions they have been retained. If any such passage obstructs the current of the plot, however, without adding to its effectiveness later by the very fact of its temporary checking of the current, we can see how in an effort to improve the dramatic sequence a master in stagecraft would cut out even passages that had undoubted excellence.

In the three folio omissions grouped as coming at or near the end of scenes we have an excellent illustration of this principle. In *King*

Lear, IV, vii, 86, to the end of the scene, we have a passage which obstructs needlessly the current of the plot, and neither the touch of "dramatic confidence" in which the man talking to Kent assumes that Kent is in Germany nor the rhymed exit couplet given to Kent justifies its retention. Somewhat similar is the needless drawing-out of the end of scene vi, Act III, from line 97, though the first five lines cover the stage business of carrying out the sleeping Lear into the storm. In *Richard the Third*, IV, ii, 103-20, moreover, the folio omits one of the most striking passages of the play, a passage so excellent that one might well like to think, if he had not read the restoration versions, that no one but the genius who wrote it would have the insight to strike it out. Both Booth and Mansfield retain it, and no one can deny that the figure of the clock applied to Buckingham's persistent solicitation is dramatically forceful. Yet quite apart from the fact that dramatic sequence allows no place in the fourth act for introducing an 18-line variation merely to strike off an effective figure, Shakespeare's maturer study of character would not allow him to make the previously pictured, wary and resourceful Buckingham persist so crudely under evidently unpropitious circumstances merely because his doing so long enough would help strike off a figure of speech.

Of the five passages not found in the folio which I have grouped together tentatively as needless "breaks in the current," all five are in *King Lear*. Such cuts either have a direct bearing on sequence or must take that factor into consideration. In V, iii, 204-21, Edgar relates the meeting of Kent and Gloucester, but their mere meeting is wholly irrelevant to the plot. The whole of the third scene in the fourth act is likewise omitted in the folio because it destroys dramatic sequence: first, by explaining why the king of France has gone back to France, though we did not know he had been in England and though the "Marshal of France, Monsieur La Far," does not appear in the play in person; second, by describing Cordelia's grief in a way that forestalls and weakens the passage, IV, vii, where her grief is *presented*; and third, by thrusting into the play Kent's conflicting explanation of why Lear will not go to Cordelia.

Of the other three passages grouped with these two the five-line classification of the fiends Obidicut, Hobbididence, Mahu, Modo,

and Flibbertigibbet (IV, i, 59-64) is certainly "daubing it further" with a vengeance and is clearly an offense against probability as well as against mere sequence. In the same way in Act III (i, 7-15) not only is the directness and effectiveness of the gentleman's description of how he found the king added to by the folio omission of eight lines, but by too full *description* of Lear in the storm the quarto forestalls and weakens the actual *presentation* in the next scene. And, finally, the folio omission of the fifth passage in this group, III, vi, 17-55, can be adequately explained only by an appeal to dramatic sequence, as it is in itself dramatically effective. For the lines omitted contain the king's arraignment of Goneril and Regan, and the whole passage omitted offers stage possibilities that might well cause a stage manager to hesitate about cutting it out unless more than this mere passage were under consideration.

Charles Kean, the first notable actor to discard the comedy ending introduced by Tate and restore *King Lear* to the stage as a tragedy, retained this trial scene and that too though he condensed from 250 lines to 150 lines the including passage from III, iv, 37, to III, vi, 84, i.e., from the first appearance of "Poor Tom" to Lear's going to sleep. Edwin Booth also cut these 250 lines down to about the same amount as Kean, and he too kept the trial scene. Henry Irving likewise retained the trial, though like the folio he cut the speech of Edgar at the close of the sixth scene. All these, however, use a different scene division from that of the folio, and the omission in the folio may best be explained by considering the evident function of the folio scene in the plot scheme. For though the trial affords a dramatic situation, the quarto version keeps the scene from running as directly to its needful end as it does in the folio.

Many might prefer to group under this general head of passages omitted because they needlessly obstruct the plot current some or perhaps all of those here grouped as omitted because in the revision of *King Lear* certain types of foreshadowing were discarded as partaking too much of melodramatic declamation to produce the truest effect of tragedy. The length of the speeches in the bombastic interchange of personality by Albany and Goneril in Act IV might indeed be considered as needlessly interfering with the rapid development of plot. Occurring as they do in the same scene, however, and

so close together (IV, ii, 31-51, 53-59, 62-69), they were evidently intended in the quarto version not merely to furnish mouth-filling lines, but to foreshadow the bitterness of the conflict and to prepare for Albany's final stand. They are types of the old threat motivation, however, and the folio cuts out at least part of the melodramatic excesses ascribed to Albany. In fact, with all of Albany's imprecations one feels that he scarcely needs the letter Edgar brings him.

The fourth passage which illustrates the older type of motivation (III, vii, 98-106) occurs at the end of the scene in which Cornwall receives his death wound.

I'll never care what wickedness I do
If this man comes to good

is the old prophecy of evil by one of the actors, not to be confused with prophecies by supernatural beings or prophets. Its immediate fulfilment is supposed to prove that the same fulfilment will come to the prophecy implied in the lines:

If she live long
And in the end meet the old course of death
Women will all turn monsters.

As would naturally be expected, many of the minor varia which consist of folio omissions of quarto lines have an evident bearing on sequence, but if the above eleven folio omissions in *King Lear* are taken one after another in the order in which they occur in the play, they form about as conclusive proofs of specific revisions as mere omissions could be expected to do. It is in the folio lines not found in the quartos, however, that we find most convincing evidence that Shakespeare revised *King Lear* with special reference to improving its dramatic sequence, and it is in the new folio lines that we find the evidence that *Richard the Third* was revised with the same special aim in view. For many new passages added in the folio version have a direct bearing on dramatic sequence, not only by strengthening old sequence or making it more probable, but by introducing sequence elements which are essentially or entirely new.

Of those passages not found in the quartos which seem to me to bear directly on sequence I have grouped together five which illustrate different types of preparation for what follows (*Richard Third*,

II, ii, 89-100; II, ii, 123-40; III, vii, 144-53; *Lear*, II, iv, 138-43; I, ii, 157-63). In the first two passages in *Richard the Third* the immediate bearing is on the stage business of the scene in which they occur. They help to balance the parties and set Dorset, Rivers, and the queen over against Richard and Buckingham. They show not only that the queen's party realize that their safety lies in the immediate crowning of the prince, but that they are sharply on their guard against any suggestion which may have in it the elements of delay in acknowledging his full rights. Here for most of the spectators, however, the bearing of these lines on the sequence probably ceases, though they plot out more explicitly than the quartos the trap into which Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey walked with eyes wide open.

In *Richard the Third*, III, vii, 144-53, and in *King Lear*, II, iv, 138-43, we have two passages evidently intended as preparation for what follows. The lines added in *King Lear* give a better sequence to the speeches between the king and Regan. Both Kean and Booth retain them in full, while Irving retains Lear's question and Regan's "I cannot think my sister in the least Would fail her obligation." Equally interesting, however, in their bearing on the revision of the play are the lines in *Richard the Third*, III, vii, 144-53, which seem evidently inserted to justify Richard's lengthy explanation to the mayor, through Buckingham. Personally I once favored the belief that these lines were in the play originally, and though omitted from the quarto because of a player's cut, had been restored in the folio. It cannot be denied, however, that when anything is revised with a special principle in mind there are always possibilities of attention being given to this specific thing where no change is really called for. In such cases it may sometimes happen that the evidence of insertion will betray itself, and this "scar" or "fault" seems plainly evident in the last three lines:

Therefore to speak and to avoid the first
And then in speaking not to incur the last
Definitively thus I answer you.

Other varia, in fact, betray this same anxiety over the mechanics of transition and form in themselves not unworthy evidence that the sequence was being sharply, and perhaps at times too sharply,

looked after. Especially is this evident in the more or less mechanical endings supplied to various scenes whose sole object is clearly just to "oil the exits."

The fifth passage which I wish to suggest as evident preparation for what follows in the play is the passage in *King Lear* in which Edmund gives the key to his own room to Edgar and sends him thither (I, ii, 181-87). In the quarto no provision is made for Edmund controlling the specific actions of Edgar, but in the folio Edmund makes sure that Edgar will be where he can reach him to put his plot in execution. Booth's stage directions for the mock battle between Edmund and Edgar follow the folio suggestion of this private door and allow the quarto "Brother descend," which is retained in the folio, by having the meeting of Edmund and Edgar take place just outside the castle, the stage directions reading "private door L.U.E." In short, the lines inserted in the folio in one scene prepare explicitly for the carrying-out of a specific part of the plot in another, and here at least the folio change could have been brought about only by a plan of strengthening the sequence which took more than one scene at a time into consideration.

Specific effort to secure more convincing sequence in *King Lear* is also shown by the folio change of five lines in I, ii, from 128-44, where they are mere stage business, to 105-9, where they can play a part in motivation. The lines are not identical, in fact so far from it that the Cambridge editors insert both passages without remarking even on their similarity of ideas. Nor is it necessary in order to see the bearing of the lines inserted in Gloucester's speech in the folio to insist that the quarto lines of Edmund's speech inspired the folio lines given to Gloucester. So far as sequence is concerned, such lines on Edmund's lips, on the quarto's own evidence, merely moved Edgar to ridicule, and the folio revision therefore assigns all such lines to Gloucester, with whom what the eclipses portend are motivating forces. For to Gloucester, "This villain of mine comes under the prediction, there's son against father" finds startling conclusive corroboration in "the king falls from the bias of nature; there's father against child."

Two other varia are produced in somewhat similar fashion. In the quarto (I, iii, 17-21) Goneril explains to Oswald in vindictive

fashion her theory of governing her father, but the folio omits this explanation to Oswald and has Goneril use it, expanded and more speciously stated, in defending to Albany her actions toward her father.

In *Richard the Third* (I, ii, 155-66) the folio inserts twelve remarkable lines which have a marked bearing on sequence and which so far as I know no actor who follows Shakespeare's plot rather than Cibber's has ever cut out. The passage runs as follows, the brackets showing the new lines in the folio:

Glou.: Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.
Anne: Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead!
Glou.: I would they were that I might die at once;
 For now they kill me with a living death.
 Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,
 Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops;
 [These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,
 No, when my father Yorke and Edward wept,
 To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made
 When black-faced Clifford shook his sword at him;
 Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
 Told the sad story of my father's death,
 And twenty times made pause to sob and weep
 That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
 Like trees bedashed with rain; in that sad time
 My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;
 And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
 Thy beauty hath and made them blind with weeping.]
 I never sued to friend or enemy;
 My tongue could never learn sweet smoothing words,
 But, now thy beauty is proposed my fee,
 My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak.

The general attitude of those who insist that Shakespeare never revised *Richard the Third* is that these twelve lines were in the original, but that, as they were a player's cut, they were not printed in the quarto. Yet even if we are willing to grant that an Elizabethan player cut out by all odds the most striking lines in Richard's speech, we find it hard to believe that these lines once there would have been omitted. For when we examine all the dialogue between Richard and Anne we find that with the exception of his professed love

these twelve lines contain the only point of sympathy or possible point of contact between them. And the plea that "Shamed their aspects with store of childish drops" leaves the quarto sentence incomplete seems slight evidence, indeed, compared with the unlikelihood of the involved sentence structure of the disputed lines having found such splendid sweep of verse structure in its crude metrical setting before 1597.

So far as mere probability is concerned, the cruces in *Richard the Third* are undoubtedly the winning of Anne as she follows the corpse of King Henry and the winning-over¹ of Queen Elizabeth by Richard after he had caused the death of her sons. It would be strange indeed if the original play had contained the lines that more than anything else make these two things dramatically possible. For our only possible explanation would be that the players had cut the most effective lines, and not only lines effective in themselves but the very ones needed more than any others to make the scenes convincing.

Difficult, therefore, as it is to believe that the twelve lines beginning "These eyes that never shed remorseful tear" were cut out by the players, it is only because Shakespearean scholars of unquestioned standing have sanctioned the theory that one is able to see how the remarkable 55 lines in *Richard the Third*, IV, iv, 288-342, could by any possibility have been a player's cut. It is in fact at this point that the evidence is most convincing that there was an explicit revision of the play by Shakespeare himself. The passages are too long to quote here, but let anyone read the splendid lines from 288 to 336, then read the bickering from 343 to 417, and then try to imagine that players of Shakespeare's own time, with a keen sense for what makes difficult situations seem probable on a bare stage, could by any possibility have cut the former and retained the latter.

¹ This dramatic crux remains much the same, and the inferiority of the quarto is just as apparent, whether we assume that Richard really won over Queen Elizabeth or whether we hold that she merely feigned yielding to gain time and freedom for herself and Dorset (IV, v, 18) to plot against him. She must convince Richard that she yields, and that she does convince him is unmistakable from "Relenting fool, and shallow, changing woman." Even if we grant that her yielding is mere pretense, the quarto still needs bolstering up, as no man of Richard's intelligence, even when blinded by success and desire, could be deceived by the quarto's unprepared yielding. Nor is the queer quarto-folio combination which uses all the lines of both more effective.

It is in connection with this problem and a similar textual problem in *King Lear* that the most striking coincidence in the varia in *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* becomes so apparent that once the attention is called to it each passage becomes a textual commentary on the other. The passages in *King Lear* referred to are in III, i, 22-29, and III, i, 30-42, the former not found in the quarto, the latter omitted in the folio. Both are printed in the Cambridge and yet show as clearly as the passages which form a similar crux in *Richard the Third* that they were not written as an integral whole.

Those who insist that *Richard the Third* was never revised have indeed offered two different explanations as to why the quarto does not contain the 55 lines that begin with Richard's "Say that I did all this for love of her" (IV, iv, 288). One explanation is that the cut was made by the corrector for the press who thought that this savored too much of the same way Richard had previously won Anne. The other explanation offered assumes that the stage manager made the cut to accelerate the action, and it is in support of this latter theory that Staunton asks, "Is it credible that so accomplished a master of stagecraft as Shakespeare, after witnessing the representation of *Richard Third*, would have added above eighty lines to the longest scene in the play?" But so far as I can find, no one who has held to the theory that the 55 lines under discussion were a part of the original play has attempted to justify the queer psychology of persuasion which the text as it stands in the Cambridge edition and in the folio would necessarily assume.

Unlike most other passages we have considered, this passage when examined merely with its own context proves itself of later origin by the incongruity of the 55 lines added in the folio being followed by all of the 75 quarto lines of bickering and punning of the most extreme Elizabethan type. This incongruity is not merely that a passage worthy of Shakespeare at his best is followed by one greatly inferior but that Richard's most convincing plea is followed by long passages of abuse and then by sudden unexplainable yielding.

I have been unable to find who first suggested what I believe is in the main the true explanation, that these 55 lines, which even Pickersgill admits are worthy of Shakespeare at his best, were inserted by Shakespeare to form a more convincing motivation for Elizabeth's

yielding and that most, if not all, of the 75 quarto lines which the folio retains were struck out by Shakespeare but retained by the editors of the folio. There can be no question but that the scene gains in directness and convincingness if we omit not only all these 75 lines of highly artificial quarto parrying but also the last six lines of those first found in the folio. Read in this way there is not only directness but sequence. The end of Richard's skilful presentation of what he has to offer to mother, son, and daughter reads:

And when this arm of mine hath chastised
The petty rebel, dull-brained Buckingham,
Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed;
To whom I will retail my conquest won,
And she shall be sole victress, Caesar's Caesar.

Try following this with the almost perfect sequence if we omit the next 81 lines and read directly after Richard's promise:

Q. Eliz.: Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?

K. Rich.: Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

Then try reading Richard's specious plea, written at Shakespeare's best, and follow it by 75 lines of puns and quibbles, retorts and parries, written very nearly at his artificial worst. The mere contrast of the two passages will cause doubt as to whether they were both written at the same time and the doubt will be heightened by the way the retention of the quarto lines bars any possible legitimate sequence. In fact, here surely we have a problem in dramatic structure which those who hold to the theory of one complete original version have not solved.

The reading just suggested is not indeed the only one which solves the problem of sequence with some degree of adequacy. It would, it is true, absolve Shakespeare from the authorship of:

Q. Eliz.: What were I best to say? her father's brother
Would be her lord? or shall I say, her uncle?
Or he that slew her brothers and her uncles?
Under what title shall I woo for thee,
That God, the law, my honor, and her love,
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

So far as the play upon words is concerned, this passage might easily have been written by almost anyone to patch the break between the new folio and the old quarto lines. But even if we include this, we have essentially solved the problem of dramatic sequence if we omit the verbal dexterities from line 343 ("Infer fair England's peace by this alliance") to line 396 ("Misused ere used, by time misused o'er-past"). For then the queen's bitter answer to Richard's specious plea is followed by his most convincing speech protesting his sincerity, the speech from line 397 to line 417 beginning, "As I intend to prosper and repent," and ending:

Therefore, good mother—I must call you so—
Be the attorney of my love to her;
Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
Not my deserts, but what I will deserve:
Urge the necessity and state of times,
And be not peevish found in great designs.

To explain how the folio might contain lines which Shakespeare had struck out we need no far-fetched assumption. Even though Shakespeare had unmistakably cut out fifty or seventy-five lines of glittering word play, and even though Heminge and Condell had these lines cut out in the stage presentation under their own direction, they might easily have included them in the folio, which professed above all things completeness to the original manuscript. On the other hand, it may easily have happened, in fact it does happen every day in even present-day printing, that in a corrected copy the printer set up not only the correction but that part of the original which it was intended to replace. Such an inclusion of lines which Shakespeare had himself struck out would indeed be wholly within the range of possibilities if the play had been revised, as the revision would without doubt, as the Cambridge editors suggest, have been made "with corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves."

In the similar crux in *King Lear*, III, i, 22-29 and 30-42, the Cambridge editors have in fact done exactly what I maintain the folio editors or printers did in *Richard the Third*, IV, iv, 288-342 and 343-417. They have printed the old quarto lines directly after the new lines first found in the folio, without any attempt at adjustment,

except changes in punctuation. Unlike their more arbitrary and less scholarly brethren who edited the folio, the Cambridge editors have, it is true, pointed out the evident fact that the two passages do not fit together. What they have not pointed out and what should receive special attention in this connection is that the lines first found in the folio are an evident attempt to patch up some more plausible sequence between the abuse to which the king has been subjected and the prompt appearance of the armies of France within two weeks after King Lear had turned over the government to Cornwall and Albany and their wives.

The speech of Kent in which the Cambridge editors combine the folio and quarto readings is as follows, the lines found first in the folio being here inclosed in the first set of brackets and those found in the quarto but omitted in the folio being inclosed in the second:

Kent:

Sir, I do know you;

And dare upon the warrant of my note,
Commend a dear thing to you. There is division,
Although as yet the face of it be covered
With mutual cunning, 'twixt Albany and Cornwall;
[Who have—as who have not, that their great stars
Throned and set high?—servants, who seem no less,
Which are to France the spies and speculations
Intelligent of our state; what hath been seen
Either in snuffs and packings of the dukes
Or the hard rein which both of them hath borne
Against the old kind king, or something deeper,
Whereof perchance these are but furnishings,—]
[But true it is from France there comes a power
Into this scattered kingdom; who already
Wise in our negligence have secret feet
In some of our best ports, and are at point
To show their open banner. Now to you:
If on my credit you dare build so far
To make your speed to Dover, you shall find
Some that will thank you, making just report
Of now unnatural and bemadding sorrow
The king hath cause to plain.
I am a gentleman of birth and breeding,
And from some knowledge and assurance offer
This office to you.]

The Cambridge editors in their effort to minimize the awkwardness of having the folio lines followed directly by the quarto have changed the sentence structure of the folio passage, as will be seen by reference to the passage quoted and the folio where "What hath been seen . . . these are but furnishings" is preceded by a period, begins with a capital, and ends with a period, while in the Cambridge edition it is preceded by a semicolon and followed by a comma and dash. Schmidt suggests: "It is easily conceivable that between 29 and 30," i.e., between the folio and quarto passages, "there were other lines which have been omitted in both texts." His suggestion, however, leaves the passage no smoother than the effort of the Cambridge editors; in fact, in view of the evident difficulty of getting legitimate English out of the passage by either method, I venture to suggest that the original folio manuscript may have read

What *hath been hath been* seen
Either in snuffs and packings of the dukes,

etc.; for not only does this make legitimate English out of the lines otherwise composed of structurally ununified phrases, but the explanation of how the passage came to be printed as it is presents no difficulty. The copy-reader might have struck out what seemed in hasty reading a repetition, one of the "verse doctors" might have cut out the two words which make an extra foot in a line already varying somewhat from strict scansion, or if the two words escaped both copy-reader and verse machinist, one of the commonest types of printers' errors could have produced the result as we have it in the folio.

Even with this reading, and with Kent's reference to Cordelia while he was in the stocks, II, ii, 160-65, we have not dispensed with the need for at least part of the quarto lines which the folio omits. Mere smoothness could be better secured in combining these two passages by omitting the first five lines of the quarto passage so that the passage would read:

What hath been hath been seen
Either in snuffs or packings of the dukes
Or the hard rein which both of them hath borne
Against the old kind king, or something deeper,

Whereof perchance these are but furnishings.
 If on my credit you dare build so far
 To make your speed to Dover you shall find
 Some that will thank you, etc.

This gives all that is necessary for Kent's speech which follows, and if it be coupled with the information Gloucester gives to Edward in scene iii and Cornwall and Edward's questioning of Gloucester in scene vii, we have a sufficient outline of how the forces were raised which the abusers of the king must later meet. But so far as its bearing on the question of revision is concerned, the important fact in all this effort at adjusting these two passages, or the frank acknowledgment that they cannot be adjusted, is that the folio introduces new lines in a perfectly evident effort to explain how Cordelia and the French army come to be in Dover to fight for the rights of Lear, and that for some reason or other we have not been given the way in which the transition was made from the new lines to what follows. In other words, the important thing is that, quite unmistakably, entirely new lines were added to bolster up the dramatic sequence.

To press the evidence of revision further it would be necessary to examine in detail many of the minor varia. I therefore conclude with a mere summary of the general evidence which leads me to believe that *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* did receive explicit revision at Shakespeare's own hands with special reference to dramatic sequence. (1) Of those longer varia which consist of lines not found in the quarto some of the most important are not enough in harmony with the full quarto context to admit of the explanation that the scene contained both quarto and folio lines. (2) Not only are many of those longer varia which are not found in the quarto distinctly worthy of Shakespeare at his best, but many of them bear so directly on sequence that it is straining probability to suppose that if they had been in the original draft they would have been cut out either by players or managers. This supposition of players' cuts is especially far fetched where the context is inferior, and also bears less on dramatic sequence. (3) Considered solely as supporting evidence, most of the longer omissions have a direct bearing on sequence and many of the one-, two-, and three-line varia have no other adequate explanation.

In short, I feel that the real proof of the thesis advanced is to be found in an examination of the varia, not merely with respect to the period at which Shakespeare might have written the lines first found in the folio, or as to how each separate quarto passage not found in the folio might have been omitted, but more especially with reference to the dramatic structure of the whole scene in which the varia occur and to the bearing of these varia on more effective sequence throughout each play as a whole. It is such an examination of the evidence that has led me to believe that after his fuller mastery of plot Shakespeare realized the kindred weakness of one of his greatest tragedies and one of his most popular historical plays, which was a tragedy in form, and revised *King Lear* and *Richard the Third* in a special effort to establish better dramatic sequence.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PLAYS

The current theory of the origin of the Old Testament plays in the religious drama is derived from M. Sepet's dissertation, "*Les Prophètes du Christ*."¹ He there propounds the theory followed by subsequent writers that the plays on Old Testament subjects made their appearance in connection with the various prophets of the *Processus Prophetarum* until there arose the whole series of Old Testament plays from the Fall of Lucifer to the Nativity of Christ.²

The theory that the Old Testament plays, to use Mr. Chambers' expression, "budded off from the stem of the *Prophetæ*," has not seemed to me to be adequate, and I venture to offer the following materials in support of another theory; namely, that the Old Testament plays, particularly those derived from the Book of Genesis and those relating to the Fall of Lucifer and the angels, in other words, the stock plays of the English cycles and of the popularly developed Continental cycles, did not originate from the *Processus Prophetarum*, but from the addition to the Passion play of a body of epical and homiletic material derived, in the first instance, from the *lectiones* and accompanying ritual of the church. Such additions must have been in the nature of deliberate amplification in the direction of a cyclical completeness long familiar in mediaeval literature and theology, as witnessed, for example, in the Old English poem of *Genesis* together with the other poems of that manuscript, in the sermons of Ælfric, and in the *Cursor mundi*. Such an amplification was, moreover, a natural development of the Passion and Resurrection and was required to bring out the full significance of those plays. This would connect the Old Testament plays with those that grew up at Easter, and not with those that grew up at Christmas. It presupposes the borrowing in certain cases, but by no means all, of the *Prophetæ* into

¹ *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, XXVIII, 1, 210 (1867); XXIX, 205, 261 (1868); XXXVIII, 397 (1877).

² E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 52-59, 68 ff.; W. Crelzenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1911 ed.), I, 61 ff.

the Easter play, and there is no disposition to deny that for the Balaam play, the Nebuchadnezzar play, and probably others, Sepet's theory may be entirely correct.

M. Sepet's chief documents are the Rouen *Prophetæ*, preserved in a fourteenth-century *ordinarium*,¹ and the *Ordo representationis Adæ*, a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century play of Norman-French origin.² With regard to the former, M. Sepet points out that, following a tendency which he calls "assimilation," the number of prophets in the procession has been increased. To the original list appearing in the eleventh-century Limoges *Prophetæ*,³ which is a dramatized version of the famous pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Iudæos, Paganos et Arianos de Symbolo*, has been added a considerable number of prophets. Such a tendency no doubt operated widely, and there were probably other local amplifications similar to those at Rouen; but in examining the plays in their later forms no evidence can be found for any basal list of prophets more extended than that of the original sermon. The prophets common to the various English, German, and French plays are apparently the original set; namely, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zacharias and Elizabeth, and John the Baptist, together with Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyl. This does not bear on the question except negatively, as tending to show that a simple form of the *Processus Prophetarum* was disseminated over a wide territory, and that its variations were of a local character.

In the Rouen play there are two cases of what M. Sepet calls the tendency to "amplify certain prophecies." The second one of these and the one of less importance is the Nebuchadnezzar episode. When the time comes for Nebuchadnezzar to utter his messianic prophecy, there is introduced a little play of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego with a fiery furnace "in medio navis ecclesiae." This play does not appear anywhere as a regular Old Testament play, and may

¹ Rouen MS Y. 110. For text see A. Gasté, "Les drames liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen," *Revue catholique de Normandie*, II, 349-72, 477-500, 573-605; Du Cange, *Glossarium under Festum Asinorum*.

² K. Grass, *Das Adamepiel*; K. Bartsch, *Chrestomatie*; V. Luzarche, *Adam, drame anglo-norman du 12^e siècle*; see also Creizenach, I, 127 ff.; Chambers, I, 70 ff.

³ E. Du Métil, *Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, p. 171; E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge*, p. 11; also Sepet as above.

be regarded as sporadic.¹ The other is the Balaam play. When Balaam appears in the procession, he is seated "super asinam," and there is enacted the little play of the speaking ass. Only the first words of the speeches are given, but it is possible to follow the plays by reference to the sources.²

The Balaam play is of fairly wide currency. It occurs as an appendage to the *Ordo Prophetarum* of Laon, a *processus* of primitive structure, where the Balaam episode is apparently a borrowing,³ and if so, an illustration of the mediaeval tendency to borrow widely rather than to originate from mere opportune suggestion.⁴ A Balaam episode occurs also in a somewhat imperfect form in the Benedictbeuern Christmas play,⁵ in the Chester Whitsun Plays, and in the French *Mystère du Viel Testament*.⁶ In the Chester cycle the Balaam scene is merely an episode, though the principal one, in the *Processus Prophetarum*, as it is in the Benedictbeuern play, and had been from the time of its origin.⁷ The *Mystère du Viel Testament* is a compilation and as a whole probably not of popular growth; but it is to be noted that we have to do with the same Balaam play. In spite of considerable literary development, it shows traces of its origin. At the end of the play Balaam utters his familiar prophecy, "Une estoille istra de Jacob, etc."⁸ The play is out of its historical

¹ The suggestion for the play was possibly drawn from a *lectio* taken from a sermon of Origen appearing in the Sarum Breviary in the service of the Vigil of the Nativity at matins.—*Breviarium ad usum Sarum, Temporale*, clviii.

² Gasté, pp. 349 ff.

³ U. Chevallier, *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon*, pp. 385-89; see also Chambers, II, 53 ff.

⁴ It may be of interest to point out that Simeon also appears at the end of the Laon play "inter prophetas," and "accipiens puerum" says: "Tuum sub pacis tegmine | Servum dimittis, Domine." This is probably the most primitive form known of the play of the Presentation in the Temple.

⁵ Du Ménil, p. 187; J. A. Schmeller, *Carmina Burana*, p. 80; R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, p. 877.

⁶ Rothschild's edition in *Société des anciens Textes français*, III, 407-22.

⁷ In order to perceive this more clearly, see Professor J. M. Manly's edition of the more primitive version of the play in Harl. MS 2124, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, I, 66-81. In the version of W. 1592, Brit. Mus. Add. MS 10,305, followed by Wright in his edition of the cycle for the Shakespeare Society, the accompanying prophets have disappeared, and the Balaam story has become the main subject.

⁸ This prophecy made its appearance in the liturgical drama apparently first in the *Stella*. It occurs as a *responsorium* in the Sarum Breviary (*Temporale*, cxvii) in the service of *Feria IV. Quatuor Temporum* to a *lectio* drawn from a sermon by the Venerable Bede: R. 2. *Orietur stella ex Jacob: et exsurgit homo de Israel, et confringet omnes duces alienigenarum. Et erit omnis terra possessio ejus. V. Et orabunt cum omnes reges terrarum: omnes gentes*

sequence and appears as an episode in the life of Moses. In the Chester cycle, also, Balaam follows Moses and the Tables of the Law.¹

Sepet's theory may hold also for the Beauvais *Daniel*,² but neither the *Balaam* nor the *Daniel* ever became, as did, for example, the *Noah* and the *Abraham and Isaac*, a regular member of the cycles, found wherever Old Testament plays were played. The *Ordo Joseph*, recently discovered by Professor Karl Young,³ shows the liturgical origin of the widely current play of Joseph and his Brethren.⁴ The material of the play would indicate that, although it seems to have had an existence independent of the cycles, it belongs to the group to be treated later. There is, however, in several liturgical plays of the Slaughter of the Innocents, a confusion of the Rachel who utters the *planctus* with Rachel, the wife of Jacob and the mother of Joseph, which may have suggested the composition of the play.⁵ It at any rate shows no connection with the *Prophetæ*. The fragmentary *Isaac and Rebecca* of the Kloster Vorau is treated below. Nothing can be told of the *Elisæus* mentioned by Gerhoh of Reichersberg⁶ or of the elaborate battle plays of the Riga performance except that they seem to be outside of the current of the popular development of Old Testament plays.

servient ei. Et erit. H. Anz in *Die lateinischen Magierespiele*, 79 ff., presents the prophecy as a characteristic amplification of what he calls the third type of Magi plays, and cites the sequence *Epiphanius Domino* in the *Prosarium Lemovicense*: *Balaam de quo vaticinans; | Exhibet ex Jacob | rutilans, | inquit, stella. Et confringet ducum agmina | regionis Moab | maxima | potentia.* The reference of the star of the Nativity to the star of Balaam's prophecy occurs in various mediæval homilies and goes back to patristic sources (see *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Magi"); but the prophecy in the plays doubtless came into the plays from the service as indicated above. From the *Stella* it was probably borrowed into the *Prophetæ*; for it occurs in a large number of Magi plays.

¹ The points just noted, together with the fact that the *Processus Prophetarum* in the Towneley play and the Hegge play (two plays in Halliwell, *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 58-69), begins with Moses and the Tables of the Law, indicate that this play grew out of the *Processus* and has, therefore, a very different origin from the play of Moses and the Exodus.

² Coussemaeker, p. 49; Chambers, II, 60. It is, however, true that the *lectio* from Origen's sermon, referred to in a preceding note, introduces a clear reference to the story of Daniel in the lion's den with the ministration of Habakkuk which constitutes the plot of the play; so that the composition of the drama may have been suggested independently by the *lectio*.

³ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, February, 1911.

⁴ Petit, *Les Mystères*, II, 66, 119, 139, 161, 171; Creizenach, I, 68 ff.; Chambers, II, 344.

⁵ Du Méril, pp. 175, 178. See also *Hom.*, XII; *De Sanctis Innocentibus* by Bishop Haymo of Halberstadt; Migne, *P.L.*, CXVIII, 75-82, where in treating the prophecy of Jeremiah, *Vox in Rama*, etc., the author makes the same reference.

⁶ Chambers, II, 98-99.

⁷ Creizenach, I, 64-65.

The *Ordo representationis Adae* is made up of a long and elaborate Adam play with full stage directions, a shorter Cain and Abel play in the same style, and a prophet play ending with the part of Nebuchadnezzar. There is also in the manuscript a version of the Fifteen Signs of Judgment, material connected with the Sibylline prophecy. The *Adam* and the *Cain and Abel* show deliberate literary composition, and the play as a whole is evidently an early attempt at cycle making. The plays are based upon the Scriptures, or rather, as I believe, upon the pericopes from Genesis read in the week of Septuagesima Sunday, and show little, if any, legendary or apocryphal influence. Because of the presence of the prophets, the *Adam* is usually regarded as a Christmas play; but there is some reason to think that the play belongs rather to Easter and is in fact the fragment of a Passion play. The play looks strongly forward to the Redemption. Adam bewails his fate and relies upon the promise of salvation through Christ; Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and each successive prophet are dragged off to Hell. I do not know of any other cases where the prophets are so disposed of, though they sometimes appear as patriarchs in Hell awaiting redemption. There are several other cases where the *Prophetæ* was borrowed into the Easter series,¹ and Adam and Eve are in like manner dragged off to Hell in the Vienna Passion play and in several other plays of the same structure.² This use of a prophet play is exceptional, for the normal and original function of the prophets is to foretell the Nativity. Then, as against Sepet's idea of the origin of the *Adam* and the *Cain and Abel* from the *Prophetæ*, it is to be pointed out that the traditional machinery of the prophet play, the introductory speech, does not precede the Adam play, but occurs at the beginning of the *Prophetæ* in its usual place, as if the prophet play had been appended as a unit.

The *Adam* is also singular in the fact that Adam and Eve are carried off to Hell before the murder of Abel, a feature which does not elsewhere appear. If the play is in the line of popular development at all, it is the forerunner of such a cycle as *La Nativité, la Passion et la Résurrection* of the Sainte-Geneviève manuscript, to which in general structure it seems to bear some resemblance.³ The

¹ Creizenach, I, 224 ff.

² See below.

³ Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 379 ff.

mass of popularly developed cycles had a restricted number of subjects, and usually practically the same subjects; namely, the Fall of Lucifer, Adam, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, and usually Moses and the Exodus. Round about these themes were sporadic episodes from the same field, such as the Death of Adam, the Death of Cain, Abraham and Lot. The French *Mystère du Viel Testament* has been written in solidly with most of the Old Testament stories as far as Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. There seems to be a tendency, the cause of which is not very clear, to regard the simpler French cycles as abridgments of the longer, more highly developed ones;¹ but, in the face of so many plays in France and in other countries showing a like lower stage of development, it seems unnecessary to do so. *Le Mystère du Viel Testament* is a composite work based upon popularly developed cycles.² It contains, for example, the complaint of Adam, as do all Old Testament cycles, and the debate of the Four Daughters of God, and these scenes look forward to the redemption, as if a passion were to follow. *La Création, Passion et Résurrection* of MS Bibl. nat. fr. 904, *La Création, et la Chute de l'Homme*, etc., of the Douai-Valenciennes MS, and possibly also the *Texte de Troyes* and the prologue to Gréban's *Passion*, show only the traditional subjects.³ Other plays with the longer more amplified list of subjects are the Eger Passion play⁴ the Künzelsau Corpus Christi play,⁵ and the Cornish *Origo mundi*.⁶ The last-mentioned has been amplified by the embodiment of the Seth legend. The English cycles which have been preserved, and the lists of subjects in lost cycles,⁷ show a general use of the conventional subjects in England.

In Germany the Passion plays developed into complete dramas of the Fall of man, the Passion of Christ, and the Resurrection, with or without Old Testament plays, and, as I think, independent of the

¹ Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 411 ff.; Creizenach, I, 264 ff.; G. Paris, Introduction to edition of Gréban, pp. xxv ff.

² Petit, *op. cit.*, 352 ff.; Rothschild and Picot, IV, pp. xix ff.; Creizenach, I, 268 ff.

³ Petit, *op. cit.*, 394 ff.

⁴ *Egerer Frohnleichnamsspiel*, ed. G. Milchsack, *Bibl. d. lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, p. 156.

⁵ See Germania, IV, 338-61.

⁶ E. Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama*.

⁷ See Chambers, II, App. W.

Prophetæ. The stages of this development can be seen by an examination of the various plays preserved, though of course it is necessary to take into consideration the forms of the plays and their degrees of development as well as the dates of their preservation. In Germany, and certainly in France also, we have developed, from the simple Latin plays of Passion and Resurrection, logically complete cycles with no regularly present Old Testament plays and frequently no prophets. The plays show an amplification of the rôle of the Devil. At first he is merely the scriptural Satan; later he becomes Lucifer, and the story of his fall and his betrayal of man is introduced. The most primitive plays introduce Satan only in connection with the Harrowing of Hell, and in other places demanded by the sources.¹ In the Benedictbeuern Passion play Satan appears as a mute character in connection with the part of Judas.² The play is fragmentary and breaks off before the Harrowing of Hell scene, though that was doubtless part of the original, as it certainly was of the fragmentary Anglo-Norman Resurrection.³ The Kloster Muri fragments contain a simple Harrowing of Hell scene in which Satan appears.⁴ There is also a somewhat primitive conception of Satan in the Innsbruck play of the Resurrection⁵ and the plays of its type,⁶ the Frankfort *Dirigierrolle*,⁷ the St. Gall play,⁸ and others. In the Donaueschingen Passion play Satan appears in the Temptation, the Remorse of Judas, Pilate's Wife's Dream, and the Harrowing of Hell. Disregarding certain developments of the part in the direction of *diablerie*, we may regard this play as presenting the normal appearances of Satan in the more primitive plays. In another large number of plays, in which the part of the devil is greatly amplified, there is the introduction of the story of Lucifer and his betrayal of man. Such plays are the Redentin Passion play,⁹ the Frankfurt play,¹⁰ and

¹ On the liturgical origin of the Harrowing of Hell scene see K. Young, "The Harrowing of Hell," *Transactions of the Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, No. 2, 889-947; see also Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 61, 98; Chambers, II, 73 ff.

² Schmeller, p. 95; Du Méril, p. 126; Creizenach, I, 87 ff.

³ Chambers, II, 82 ff.; Creizenach, I, 132 ff.

⁴ Froning, p. 228.

⁵ Mone, *Altdeutsche Schauspiele*, pp. 107-44.

⁶ Creizenach, I, 107 ff.

⁷ Froning, p. 340.

⁸ Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, I, 49 ff.

⁹ Froning, p. 123.

¹⁰ Froning, p. 375.

the plays of that group,¹ the Alsfeld play,² and the Tyrol plays.³ In this series of plays the stories of the fall of Lucifer and of man are frequently introduced in connection with the prayers of Adam and the patriarchs for redemption from bondage, a characteristic also seen in the French plays.⁴ There are, however, German Passion plays which show an arrangement according to chronological sequence. The Vienna Passion play, which is one of the oldest preserved, dating, as it does, from early in the fourteenth century, begins with the presentation of the fall of Lucifer and the fall of man.⁵ This is also seen with the fullest development of Old Testament subjects in the Eger Passion play and in the Künzelsau *Frohnleichnamsspiel*,⁶ both of which, however, treat Nativity subjects, as does the similarly constructed Middle-Frankish play from Maastricht.⁷ *Der Sündenfall*⁸ seems to be the fragment of a cycle chronologically arranged; the introductory speech of the Prolocutor seems to indicate this, as also the contents of the play. It has a full list of Old Testament subjects, a complaint of Adam and the patriarchs in limbo, a debate of the Four Daughters of God, and, at the end, the presentation of Mary in the Temple. The Innsbruck *Frohnleichnamsspiel* of the end of the fourteenth century, a procession of prophets, apostles, and Magi,⁹ begins with the thanking of the Savior by Adam and Eve for their release from Hell, as if the scene had been borrowed directly from a Harrowing of Hell play. In some of the Passion plays the prophets appear; but, when they do, they are usually in the rôle of patriarchs awaiting redemption, which is manifestly not their original or their commonest function in the religious drama. They are primarily prophets of the Nativity, and

¹ Creizenach, I, 225 ff.

² Froning, p. 562.

³ J. E. Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tyrol*.

⁴ Creizenach, I, 253 ff.; Petit, *Les Mystères*, II, 400 ff.

⁵ Froning, pp. 302 ff. The Erlau Magdalen play (K. F. Kummer, *Erlauer Spiele*) resembles the Vienna play in arrangement, although there is no actual presentation of the fall; see Creizenach, I, 244 ff.; also 358 ff., where he describes a Czechish fragment which begins with the actual fall of Lucifer.

⁶ *Germania*, IV, 338 ff.

⁷ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, II, 302 ff. See also Creizenach, I, 116 ff., who groups with the Maastricht play certain other plays.

⁸ O. Schönmeyer, *Der Sündenfall und Marienklage*.

⁹ Mone, *Altdeutsche Schauspiele*.

there are a large number of plays and many indications within the great composite cycles which tend to show that the play of the prophets was closely bound up with the plays of the Nativity, a thing which would be very natural, since they all unquestionably grew up at Christmas time. Sepet¹ devotes a section of his article to proving that the *Processus Prophetarum* is the regular prologue to the Nativity. He cites the Benedictbeuern Christmas play, the St. Gall Nativity play, *Laus pro Nativitate Domini* from a manuscript in Bibl. Vallicelliana in Rome, and the Rouen Incarnation and Nativity. Several other French plays show the same thing, and in the English plays there is also the closest connection between the *Prophetæ* and the Nativity. The prologue to the Annunciation in York² is a summary of a prophet play. In the play of the Shearmen and Taylors of Coventry, Isaiah acts as a prologue to the Nativity, and in it and in the Weavers' play, there is evidence that the *Prophetæ* has been split up into parts and distributed among the plays of the Nativity.³ At Chester the prophet play has been divided, and one portion of it incorporated with the Annunciation.

It is evident then that there are two types of cyclic plays—the one, familiar to us in the English Corpus Christi plays, is chronologically arranged and complete; the other, familiar to us in the German and French plays, is usually not chronologically arranged and not complete, since it has no Old Testament plays, and frequently has no Nativity plays, and no *Prophetæ*. The latter, however, sometimes approximate the former both in content and in arrangement and are logically complete, since they embrace the fall and redemption of man. Since it is possible to trace the growth of the second type, even when entirely independent of *Prophetæ* and Nativity plays, to a stage approximately parallel to the first, it has seemed to me reasonable to believe that the first type is only a variety of the second; namely, a Passion play to which has been added a number of scenes derived from the Old Testament. I am inclined to think that this amplification occurred before the Easter and Christmas plays were united into a single cycle, and the form of

¹ *Op. cit.*, XXXVIII, 397 ff.

² L. T. Smith, *The York Plays*, pp. 93 ff.

³ "Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays," *E.E.T.S.*, pp. 1 ff., 12-16, 33-39.

the original Easter play at such a city as Chester could then be arrived at by withdrawing from the cycle the *Processus Prophetarum* and all the plays of the Nativity group. It would be absurd to think that the Lucifer and Adam scenes of the German passion plays originated from the *Prophetæ*, because their development bears every mark of being entirely within the Passion plays themselves. They were demanded by the subject, and we have a natural point of growth provided for them in the Harrowing of Hell and other scenes of the Passion and Resurrection.

Neither the documents cited by M. Sepet, nor the evidences of the manner of development of the larger plays, so far as they are ascertainable, seem to establish his theory; let us, therefore, inquire more directly into the origin of the Old Testament plays.

The series of Old Testament plays, referred to above, stand as a single conventional group with practically the same subjects and in the same order, as if they had been introduced as a unit from one principal source, or at least introduced to conform to one definite pattern. It is evident that a parallel exists between the cycles of plays and the great religious epics of the Middle Ages. The conception of an epic of redemption had long been in existence. The contents of Junian MS XI show just the features needed to make of the drama as developed within the church a complete cyclical presentation of man's fall and redemption. Besides the *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*, it contains a poem known as *Christ and Satan*, which is made up of, first, the Fall of Lucifer, secondly, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the return to final judgment, and, thirdly, the Temptation. I have no disposition to regard this or Avitus¹ as a source for the plays; but they both offer examples of the epical treatment of the earlier Old Testament themes with manifest consciousness of their theological significance. The *Cursor mundi* represents a very much more amplified form of religious epic than the one which seems to be paralleled in the more primitive cycles of plays.² The *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor³ is a summary of Old Testament events, and contains most of the

¹ Migne, P.L., lx.

² "Inquiry into the Sources of *Cursor Mundi*," Haenisch, in Morris' edition in E.E.T.S.

³ Migne, P.L., cxcviii.

legendary materials involved; but it goes very much farther in its account than the mystery plays do. It gives only a brief form of the Lucifer story, as compared to the Old English *Genesis* and the thirteenth-century *Genesis and Exodus*.¹ The *Genesis and Exodus* and the Vienna *Genesis* follow the scriptural accounts with a fair degree of closeness. The *Canticum de Creatione*² refers to most of the events of the Book of Genesis and gives special prominence to the Seth legend. Grosseteste's *Castle of Love* presents, from the Old Testament, only the Fall. *Die Erlösung* shows a selection of material somewhat similar to the *Castle of Love* and offers a parallel to the amplified Passion plays of the German type, a thing which may also be said of *Das Passional*, though it confines itself to the life of Christ.

Such epical accounts may have had influence on the later forms of the plays, or suggested the cyclical idea; but I think it is not necessary to go so far afield for the sources of the earliest Old Testament plays. In fact the Adam and the Cain and Abel plays of the *Ordo representationis Adae* seem to bear upon their faces the evidences of their source. The stage direction at the beginning of the play contains these words: "Tunc incipiat lectio: *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram*," to which the Chorus sing the response, "Formavit igitur Dominus." After Adam has been placed in Paradise, they sing this response, "Tulit ergo Dominus hominem." When God forbids Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, they sing the response, "Dicit Dominus ad Adam"; after the Fall, the response, "Dum ambularet"; after Adam and Eve are expelled from Paradise, the response, "In sudore vultus tui." When Adam and Eve are outside of Paradise, "quasi tristes et confusi," the Chorus sing the response, "Ecce Adam quasi unus." After the murder of Abel, they sing the response, "Ubi est Abel, frater tuus." These are regular responses which accompanied the *lectiones* from Genesis for the week of Septuagesima Sunday. The subjects for the week, as indicated by the *responsoria*, were the Creation, the Temptation and Fall, and the story of Cain and Abel. The actual selections read in the service varied to a certain extent, but the subjects were always the same, and it will be noticed that the responses themselves carry the story. The

¹ *Genesis and Exodus*, ed. by R. Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, pp. 1-18; see also A. Fritzsche, *Anglia*, V, 43 ff.

² Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. 124 ff.

Adam is practically a dramatization of the *lectiones* and *responsoria* of the week of Septuagesima Sunday. In like manner the *lectiones* and *responsoria* of the Sunday and ferial services of the week of Sexagesima were devoted to the story of Noah and the Flood; those of Quinquagesima, to the story of Abraham; those of the second Sunday in Quadragesima, to Isaac, Jacob, and Esau; those of the third Sunday in Quadragesima, to the story of Joseph and his Brethren; those of the fourth Quadragesimal Sunday, to Moses and the Exodus. I have followed the order of the Sarum Breviary; but the use of these subjects for readings for the period of Septuagesima and Lent, as shown by the *responsoria* and by the *lectiones* from sermons which accompany them in various service books, was general.¹ We have here the entire list of Old Testament subjects appearing in the more primitive cycles except for the play of the Fall of Lucifer. The play of *Isaac and Rebecca* of the late twelfth-century Latin fragment from Kloster Vorau in Styria² seems to bear some traces of origin from *lectiones* of the week of the second Sunday in Quadragesima; there is at least a chorus which accompanies the action with the narrative of that time. The Fall of Lucifer could have been derived from sermons on the Creation; there is a full account in Ælfric's *De initio creaturæ*.³

In view of the obviousness and availability of the lessons of the service and of their adequacy, I should be disposed to believe that the Old Testament plays originated from the *lectiones* and *responsoria* of the period of Septuagesima and Lent. It was a time of preparation and penance, and the devotions constantly looked forward toward Easter. The subjects of the lessons had the closest bearing upon the events commemorated at Easter. Christ was the second Adam and head of the spiritual family, as Adam was the father in the flesh. Abel was a type of Christ, and his sacrifice is mentioned in con-

¹ On the whole subject of the *lectiones* and on the particular points involved, see Blümer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, pp. 258 ff., 265 ff., 285 ff., 446 ff., and Bellage IV; see also Cabrol, *Introduction aux études liturgiques*, passim; Collette, *Histoire du Bréviaire de Rouen*, pp. 1-v; *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Breviary." The service books which I have been able to consult are: the Sarum Breviary, the York Breviary, the Hereford Breviary, the Exeter Ordinal, *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon*, *Ordinaires de Notre Dame de Mont Carmel*, and a number of breviaries of more recent date.

² Anz. f. Kunde d. deut. Vorzeit, 1877, Sp. 169 ff. The Towneley cycle offers the only English parallel.

³ *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, I, 8 ff.; see also *De initio creature*, in "Old English Homilies," ed. R. Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, I, 217 ff.

nection with those of Abraham and Melchisedech in the canon of the mass. Isaac was also regarded as a type of Christ, and is so called in a *lectio* drawn from a sermon of St. John Chrysostom¹ and read on Sexagesima Sunday. Ælfric in a sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany² says that the slaying of Abel betokened God's Passion; that the ark betokened the church and that Noah betokened Christ; and that by Abraham we are to understand the Almighty Father, and by Isaac, his beloved Son, the Savior Christ. In a sermon for Midlent Sunday³ he gives an elaborate explanation of the typical significance of the subject of Moses and the Exodus; it shows how that subject was related to the season. Almost any series of sermons of the period will illustrate the points given; and the subjects in question have so close a connection both theological and liturgical with the Passion, that it is impossible to escape the belief that the plays dealing with them must have grown up as parts of, or as preliminary scenes to, the plays of the Passion and Resurrection. If the Old Testament plays originated within the church itself, which in some cases at least they probably did, and at a season some weeks before Easter, then they must have been united later with the plays of Easter itself; and the whole group of Easter plays later joined with the whole group of Christmas plays to form the cycles.

The Cathedral Statutes of Bishop Hugh de Nonant (1188-98) show that at Lichfield the *Pastores* was acted at Christmas and the *Quem quaeritis* and *Peregrini*, at Easter.⁴ At York the traditional Statutes of York Cathedral provide for *Pastores* and *Stella* at Christmas time as late as about 1255.⁵ At Aberdeen the Christmas and Easter groups seem never to have been united.⁶ The most striking case is that of the Cornish cycle. It is made up of an *Origo mundi*, which presents the Fall of Lucifer, and a series of Old Testament plays, a *Passio Domini*, which begins with the Temptation, and a *Resurrectio Domini*, which ends with the Ascension. There are no *Prophetæ* and no Nativity plays and no evidence of there ever having been. If the Christmas series was acted by the same people, it must

¹ *De sermone*, 33; *de Fide Abrahæ*, etc.; see *Sarum Breviary*, *op. cit.*, *Temporale*, *dxliii*.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 58 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 189 ff.

⁴ *Chambers* II, 377.

⁵ *Lincoln Statutes*, II, 98; see *Chambers*, II, 399.

⁶ *Chambers*, II, 330 ff.

have been acted separately, and is now lost. It is difficult to see how such a cycle could have come into existence except upon the supposition that Old Testament plays are originally and organically part of the Easter series of plays rather than of the Christmas series. Professor Manly points out that the plays of the Kentish town of New Romney were also of the Continental type, and probably had no Nativity plays.¹

If the theory which I have advanced is true, the English cycles ought to show some evidence of having been made up by the union of the two groups. In all of the cycles there are wide gaps before and after the plays of the Nativity, and all of them, I think, show evidence of such a composition. One case in particular is very striking. I should like to present it here briefly and give a fuller study of the subject in a later paper. It is the case of the component parts of the Chester cycle.

The Benedictbeuern Christmas play is made up of a combination of dramatic themes of the season of Christmas. Augustine appears as Expositor, and the play opens with a *Prophetae*, in which, however, only a limited number of prophets appear. Among these prophets is Balaam, "sedens super asinam," and although the ass does not speak, the angel with the sword appears, and it may be said that it is a Balaam play in miniature. After an extended dispute between Augustine and the prophets on the one side and Archisynagogus and the Jews on the other, there is the Annunciation and immediately after it the Visit to Elizabeth; then, in a somewhat confused form, a *Pastores* and a *Stella*. At this point a stage direction gives the statement, "Herodes corrodatur a verminibus," and provides for the crowning of his son Archelaus. Then comes the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt, which is followed by some purely secular matters, and then comes the Falling of the Egyptian idols. The play ends with fragments of an Antichristus play.² The play is not only confused but corrupt, and yet it is possible to see in its general content a remarkable parallel to the Chester plays, particularly in those themes in which the Chester plays are exceptional. In the Chester *Processus Prophetarum*, a *Princeps Synagogae*

¹ For records see *Hist. MSS.*, V, 517 ff., 533 ff.

² Creizenach, I, 90 ff.

appears, and it has a Balaam play growing out of it.¹ It places a Salutation immediately after the Annunciation.² The Sibyl plays an important rôle in the Nativity. In the Slaughter of the Innocents the legend of the falling of the idols and of the death of Herod³ appear. In a later play, *Ezechiel*, we have further materials from the *Prophetæ*, and, lastly, we have the altogether exceptional play of *Antichrist*.⁴ My inference from this parallel is that one of the component elements of the Chester cycle was a Christmas play of somewhat the same general content and form as the Benedict-beuern play. If so, the original Christmas play, back of the Chester cycle, must have been divided into parts, and these parts given appropriate places in the cycle.

A justification for the introduction of the death of Herod and the theme of the Antichrist into the Christmas plays can be drawn from a sermon by Bishop Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853), *De Sanctis Innocentibus*,⁵ a portion of which, containing a comparison of Archelaus to Antichrist, was used as a *lectio* at matins, according to the Sarum Breviary,⁶ on the Vigil of Epiphany. The paragraphs of the sermon which precede the *lectio* give an elaborate account of the death of Herod.⁷

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¹ Manly, I, 66 ff.

² This is also true of the York play.

³ This appears as a separate scene in the Hegge plays.

⁴ Wright, I, 96 ff., 105 ff., 181, 185 ff.; II, 139 ff., 150 ff.

⁵ Migne, *P.L.*, cxviii, 75-82.

⁶ *Temporale*, cccx f.

⁷ On the Octave of the Innocents in the Sarum Breviary (*op. cit.*, cccf f.) is a *lectio* (Augustini, *Opera*, *De Sanctis*, ed. Benedict., Appendix, Sermo 220, V, 1, 2914-17; see Bäumer, 624) which contains a reference to the idols of Egypt, not, however, specifically referring to the legend. The *lectio* contains a paragraph on the Last Judgment, a subject of frequent occurrence in sermons and *lectiones* in Advent and Christmas. This may have significance as to the original position of the Doomsday play.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY AND THE TEACHING OF TENSES IN FRENCH

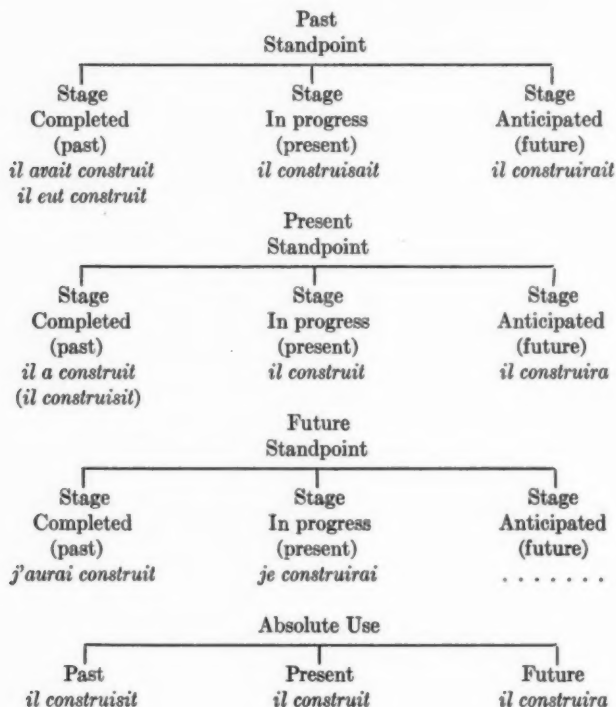
Hale and Buck's Latin grammar divides tenses into "tenses of stage" and "aoristic tenses." The latter, according to the definition, represent the act in *summary* (i.e., as a whole); the former represent it, "as in a stage of advancement at a time which is in mind, namely as completed, in progress, or yet to come," adding that, "the particular time with reference to which an act is seen as in a certain stage may conveniently be called *Point of Reference* or *Point of View*."¹

For several years before Hale and Buck's grammar was published, but not, however, before I had had the benefit of coming under the indirect influence of Professor Hale's teaching, discarding for the moment whatever French grammar the class might be using, I had presented the tenses of the Indicative to my beginners by placing the diagram shown on p. 490 on the board.

The construction of the diagram was always preceded by a discussion in which the class was guided, as much as possible, to formulate by themselves a definition of tense, and the diagram was filled out by the class not only in French but also in English, and by individual students also in Latin. A better insight into the nature of tenses was thus reached, and a better "working-knowledge" acquired, than by the learning of the many rules generally given in grammars. Some added statements were, indeed, necessary, especially to explain the difference in use between the past anterior and the pluperfect, and between the past definite and indefinite, but they could be given briefly and gradually.

Practically, this mode of presentation of the tenses proved a success. The inextricable confusion between the use of the imperfect and past definite which I have known to persist even in the minds of "advanced" students of French was a very rare occurrence, if the student was a real beginner; and even when error occurred, the question, "what is the standpoint, what is the stage?" followed

¹ For a similar view, compare Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachwissenschaft*, §§ 189-91.



by, "then what should the tense be?" generally enabled the student to get his own bearings.

It is not, however, sufficient for a method of presentation to work apparently well in elementary teaching, to be, as it were, "practically expedient." If at any later stage of progress the student has to unlearn what he learned in the first place, if the elementary view he was made to take does not furnish a solid foundation for a scientifically sound superstructure, the most plausible, best-working "scheme" is not justifiable.

Having come to realize that this presentation of French tenses differed in some essential points from the one taken by some very authoritative French grammars, it became imperative to subject a

view which had been reached somewhat "empirically" to a more searching test than could be furnished by mere classroom use, and reject or modify it accordingly. With this purpose the following study of tenses was undertaken, and it is published with the hope that it may prove useful in a line of work for which there is a real need in America today, and the consciousness that its usefulness remains questionable until its results have stood the scrutiny "*di coloro che sanno*."

To trace the history of the evolution of opinion concerning the nature of tense-force in French grammars, or special works on the subject, is beyond the scope of this study. Herbig gives such a survey with regard to the classical languages in his article "Aktions-art und Zeitstufe,"¹ an article that is of supreme importance for all consideration of tenses.² The views set forth in this survey have been influential, and justifiably so, in all consideration of tenses in the Romance languages.

Neither does it come within the scope of this article to take into consideration all "standard" French grammars or all special treatises on the tenses. Some recent publications, notably German ones, which, judging from their reviews, would have been exceedingly useful, were not accessible. On the contrary, the consideration of many "standard" French grammars in use in America appeared sheer waste of time, since they rest satisfied with cataloguing in the most perfunctory manner the different uses of tenses with no pretense of helping the student to any understanding of their real nature. Books that have been utilized will, therefore, be mentioned as the occasion arises, and it is hoped that the failure to utilize all existing material will not seriously invalidate the usefulness of a study in which, when all is said, the language itself is the decisive factor, and the opinions that are held concerning it are an important but only secondary consideration.

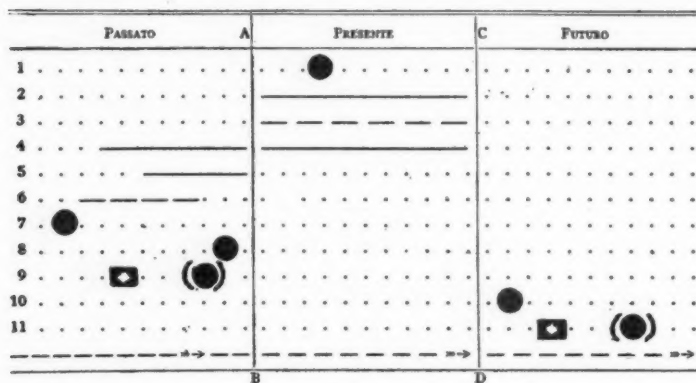
Ayer, § 196, says of the tenses of the Indicative that according to the state of the action expressed, they can be either *imperfect* or *perfect*; from another point of view, they are again divided into *presents* and *preterites*. His own classification is:

¹ *Indogermanische Forschungen*, VI.

² See also Visling, "Die realen Tempora der Vergangenheit," *Frans. Studien*, VI, VII.

	TEMPS IMPARFAITS	TEMPS PARFAITS
a) <i>Présents</i> :	Présent Futur	Parfait Futur parfait
b) <i>Prétérit</i> :	Imparfait Prétérit Conditionnel	Plus-que-parfait Prétérit antérieur Conditionnel passé

Left to itself this scheme does not enlighten us concerning a fundamental point in the conception of tense-force: is the division into *présents* and *prétérits* based merely on a distinction between past or present *time*, or does it imply present or past *standpoint*? The difference between mere time (time-sphere) and standpoint in time becomes apparent by comparing my diagram with a very ingenious one given by Piazza in his Italian grammar, in which something akin to "standpoint" is resorted to only for the graphical representation of the pluperfect and future perfect.



1, 2, 3, stand for the present; 4, for the compound past (*ho pensato*); 5, 6, for the imperfect; 7, 8, for the "rimoto" (*pensai*); 9, for the pluperfect; 10, for the future; 11, for the future perfect. The conditional (past-future) has found and can find no place in the diagram, and the compound "rimoto" (*ebbi pensato*) is also omitted. Piazza happily avoids the error of considering the pluperfect a mere equivalent of the simple tense, as is clearly brought out by the graphical representation.

Ayer does not go to the extreme of completely ignoring the relation of the tenses to something that may be construed into a "past point in time." He says: "Les prétérīts marquent le temps non seulement par rapport à l'instant de la parole, mais encore par rapport à un autre fait passé." Then he continues, "l'imparfait [qui] exprime une action passée simultanée à un autre fait également passé; le prétérít [qui] exprime une action passée postérieure ou antérieure à une autre action passée; le plus-que-parfait et le prétérít antérieur [qui] expriment une action comme passée dans le moment où l'on parle, mais en même temps comme accomplie antérieurement à une autre action également passée; les deux conditionnels [qui] expriment un futur par rapport à un passé . . ."

If, for the sake of comparison, we should attempt to represent graphically the tenses as defined by Ayer, according to Piazza's diagram, the graphical representation would bring out strikingly the inadequacy of Ayer's definition of the preterite: when it is supposedly "anterior" to a past act, it becomes confused with the pluperfect; and when it is "posterior" to a past act, it becomes confused with the conditional. Nor is this splitting hairs. In his historical French grammar Brunot defines future time as "ce qui est postérieur à ce moment." It is true that in the definition of the conditional (past-future) Ayer drops the word *fait* or *action* and says, "un futur par rapport à un passé," and this may be construed as a suggestion of the distinction that Lücking, e.g., brings out by the use of the terms "real" and "ideal." Even if this idea is implied in Ayer's definition, it certainly is not brought out clearly, and confusion persists.

The idea of "standpoint" is suggested more forcibly by Mätzner, who says: "Es kann nämlich die ihrem Wesen nach der Zeit angehörende Thätigkeit, welche von ihrem Zeitpunkte oder Zeitraume aus ein Vorher und ein Nachher und somit ausserhalb ihrer Gegenwartigkeit eine Vergangenheit und Zukunft hat, von zwei Standpunkten aus gemessen oder in ihre drei objektiven Stufen eingetheilt werden." And further, "Der Redende kann nämlich die Thätigkeiten mit Beziehung auf die Zeit in welcher er redet, oder auf seine jedesmalige Gegenwart als gegenwärtig, vergangen oder zukünftig darstellen, oder mit Beziehung auf eine nicht mehr in *seine* Gegenwart fallende, also für ihn vergangene Zeit, welche durch den Zusammenhang der Rede

anderweitig näher bestimmt wird, die Thätigkeiten als damals gegenwärtig, vergangen oder zukünftig betrachten."

Lückner explains the distinction between the imperfect "aimais" and the past definite "aimai" by stating that the first expresses the action "im Werden," in progress, while the second, "die in der Vergangenheit werdende Thätigkeit unter die einfache Anschauung eines beschlossenen Daseins d. h. als Thatsache fallen lässt."

The distinction between "ideal" and "real" action (a very important discrimination) easily explains why Lücking does not include future time in his scheme, since "ideal" takes the place of "future." A definite standpoint in past time is, however, ignored, and the imperfect and past definite are respectively designated as both expressing "eine in der Vergangenheit unvollendet gedachte Handlung, und zwar (a) das Imperfekt eine damals im Verlauf begriffene, (b) das Perfekt eine damals eintretende."

The confusion between conditional (past-future) and past definite, which is possible with Ayer's definition, is not, however, possible here, since it is sufficiently guarded against by the distinction between "real" and "ideal."

Seeger¹ divides tenses into two groups: "Praesentia," or tenses of present time; and "Praeterita," or tenses of past time. The "Praesentia" relate the temporal condition of the action to the actual time of the speaker. The "Praeterita" are the tenses of historical representation (Darstellung). A somewhat vague standpoint can therefore be implied for the "Praesentia," but nothing of the kind is possible, according to the definition, with the "Praeterita." The "Praesentia" are present, past indefinite, future, and future perfect. In a note Seeger remarks that the simple tenses, present, imperfect, past definite, future, conditional are also called "Zeitformen des Werdens"; and the compound tenses, past indefinite, future perfect, pluperfect, and past anterior are also called "Zeitformen der Vollendung."

To this grouping (which is not, however, original; cf. Mätzner and others) the serious objection can be made that "aimeraï" and "aimerais" which express, as Lücking brings out, not the statement of a "real" action, but merely the statement of "ideal" action

¹ *Lehrbuch der neufranzösischen Syntax*, 1884.

(action merely thought of), no more express "Werden" than they express "Vollendung." An action that has no real beginning cannot properly be said to be in progress (im Werden) merely because it also lacks a real ending.

Since Seeger groups together imperfect and past definite (and conditional) as "Zeitformen des Werdens," it is interesting to note how he differentiates between them: "Das französische Imperfekt stellt die Thätigkeit recht eigentlich als eine werdende, mitten in der Ausführung begriffene, unabgeschlossene dar. Beim Gebrauche des passé défini fließt die Vorstellung einer werdenden mit der Vorstellung einer zum Abschluss kommenden und sich vollendenden Thätigkeit zu der einfachen Vorstellung einer sich vollziehenden Thätigkeit zusammen."

A vague feeling of standpoint can, however, be deduced from the statement, "Das passé défini ist das absolute Tempus und steht überall, wo es steht, um seiner selbst willen. Das Imperfekt ist das relative Tempus und rechtfertigt seinen Platz häufig nur durch seine Beziehung zu dem was vorangeht und folgt." Even more clearly defined standpoint is resorted to for the definition of the "imperfectum futuri": "Als echt historisches Futurum d. h. eine vom Standpunkt der Vergangenheit aus zukünftige Thätigkeit bezeichnend, steht dieses Tempus in der indirekten und in der abhängigen Rede."

It is noteworthy that having resorted to "standpoint" for the explanation of the past-future, Seeger did not further utilize it for the explanation of pluperfect and past anterior, of which he holds the certainly erroneous view (which is, however, shared by others) that "die beiden Tempora verhalten sich zu einander wie das Imperfektum und das passé défini."

Standpoint receives greater recognition in the historical French grammar of Brunot, who says, "Sommairement et logiquement le temps se divise par rapport au moment où l'on parle en trois portions: (1) ce moment même; (2) ce qui est antérieur; (3) ce qui est postérieur à ce moment. Le verbe distingue ces trois divisions. Il y a des temps marquant le présent, le passé, et le futur par rapport au moment où l'on parle." And farther on, "Une action déterminée peut être conçue comme étant antérieure ou postérieure ou

contemporaine non plus seulement au moment où l'on parle, mais d'une action quelconque elle-même présente, passée ou future par rapport au moment où l'on parle. . . . En théorie il faudrait six temps de ce genre:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| 1°) un passé marquant l'antériorité | } | par rapport au passé |
| un présent marquant la simultanéité | | |
| un futur marquant la postériorité | | |
| 2°) un passé marquant l'antériorité | } | par rapport au futur," |
| un présent marquant la simultanéité | | |
| un futur marquant la postériorité | | |

adding, however, that neither Latin nor French ever actually had all these tenses. Here the principle of standpoint is admitted as explicitly as in the diagram which I used myself, though in his definition Brunot ties it to the action of another verb. It should be remarked also that the imperfect and passé défini are not grouped together, but are considered as belonging to two different categories of tenses.

Robert¹ also divides time into: (1) the actual moment; (2) all the time which has preceded the actual moment; (3) all the time that will follow, and states that the tenses which mark the time are (1) the present, (2) the perfect, (3) the future. But he adds: "... on peut présenter une action comme présente, passée ou future par rapport au moment où l'on parle ou bien par rapport à un moment du passé. De là deux séries de temps:

	Présents	Prétérits
Présent	marche	marchais marchai
Passé	ai marché	avais marché eus marché
Futur	marcherai aurai marché	marcherais aurais marché"

"Moment du passé" is almost an exact equivalent for "past standpoint," and according to Robert's diagram both the past definite and the imperfect are brought into relation to it; both, according to him, are "present at a past moment."

¹ *Questions de grammaire française.*

Brinkman¹ brings out very clearly the importance of "standpoint" for the understanding of tense-force. He calls "subjective" those tenses which emphasize the relation of the act of the verb to a definite standpoint "des betrachtenden Subjekts, des Sprechenden"; and "objective" those that express the action of the verb from the standpoint of the "acting subject." Brinkman's scheme, in a somewhat simplified form, is shown on p. 498.

It should be noticed that while Brinkman holds to one standpoint throughout, in the table of tenses "from the standpoint of the speaker," he is not able to do so in his table of "objective time of action"; in this he alternates between (a) standpoint of the speaker, and (b) and (c) standpoint of the "acting subject." According to the first table, the imperfect expresses "objective presence" to the past standpoint of the speaker; according to the second table, the imperfect together with the past definite express "objective present action from the standpoint of the acting subject in the past."

This grouping together of imperfect and past definite that is to be found in a majority of grammars (even outside of those that have been considered here) has not, however, failed to find opponents. A very vigorous attack upon this view of imperfect and past definite has been made, e.g., by This,² who feels so strongly an essential difference between the two tenses that he proposes to assign the past definite to a different mode, the "narrative." A somewhat similar view is held by Kalepky,³ who says (p. 503) that the past definite is "mehr als blosser Tempus und Modusform, es ist zugleich Vorstellungskategorie für Zeitseiende und darf darnach nicht mit [den Indikativen des] présent, imparfait, futur, conditionnel, in eine Reihe und auf dieselbe Stufe gestellt werden." That Brunot avoids doing this has already been mentioned; and it would undoubtedly be easy to find others who take a similar position. In this connection it is, however, well to remember that there is no hard-and-fast dividing line between *mode* and *tense-force*. The *future* and *past-future* express a very different "mode of action" from the present (Lücking's *ideal* action as opposed to *real* action), so different that the *future* and

¹ *Syntax des Französischen und Englischen*, 1885.

² "Zur Lehre der Tempora und Modi im Französischen," *Gröber Festschrift*.

³ "Zur franz. Syntax," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Phil.*, XVIII.

NACH DEM STANDPUNKTE DES SPRECHENDEN

Standpunkt des Sprechenden	Objektive Zeit der Handlung	Zeitformen
I) Vom Standpunkte der Gegenwart	a) als objektiv gegenwärtig b) als objektiv vergangen c) als objektiv zukünftig	je loue j'ai loué je louerai
II) Vom Standpunkte der Vergangenheit	a) als objektiv gegenwärtig b) als objektiv vergangen (als vergangen und bedingt) c) als objektiv zukünftig	je louais j'avais loué j'eus loué j'aurais loué je louerais
III) Vom Standpunkte der Zukunft	a) als objektiv gegenwärtig b) als objektiv vergangen c) als objektiv zukünftig	je louerai j'aurai loué (laudaturus ero)

NACH DER OBJEKTIVEN ZEIT DER HANDLUNG

Objective Zeit der Handlung	Gesichtspunkt	Die Zeitformen
I) Die objektiv gegenwärtige Handlung	a) vom Gesichtspunkt des betrachtenden Subjekts, Sprechenden b) vom Standpunkt des handelnden Subjekts in der Vergangenheit c) vom Standpunkt des handelnden Subjekts in der Zukunft	j'aime j'aimais j'aimai j'aimerai
II) Die objektiv vergangene Handlung	a) vom Standpunkt des betrachtenden Subjekts b) vom Standpunkt des handelnden Subjekts in der Vergangenheit c) wenn bedingt vom Standpunkt des handelnden Subjekts in der Zukunft	j'ai aimé j'avais aimé j'eus aimé j'aurai aimé
III) Die objektiv zukünftige Handlung	a) vom Standpunkt des betrachtenden Subjekts b) vom Standpunkt des handelnden Subjekts in der Vergangenheit c) vom Standpunkt des handelnden Subjekts in der Zukunft	j'aimerai j'aimerais j'aimerais (amaturus ero)

past-future tense-force is not infrequently accepted by the language as a perfect equivalent for the subjunctive mode-force. While I hope to show that it is not necessary to resort to the creation of a new mode-name for the explanation of the real difference between past definite and imperfect, I heartily agree with those who separate imperfect and past definite, against those who group them together.

Meyer-Lübke,¹ in his consideration of tenses, says that Latin expresses by its tense-forms two entirely different things: "le moment de la durée" ("Zeitstufe") and "la modalité de l'action" ("Aktionsart"). The first designates the time of action as present, past, and future; in Latin and the Romance languages timeless verb-forms do not enter into consideration. The "Aktionsart" indicates whether an action is durative, iterative, momentaneous, inchoative, or completed. Literary Latin had a present, and also a preterite that marked duration and one that did not, and a future. These statements are based to a great extent on Herbig's article, "Aktionsart und Zeitstufe,"² to which Meyer-Lübke refers; and a closer consideration of Herbig's opinions will help to throw a considerable light on the subject.

Herbig holds that "Aktionsart" and verbal action are indissolubly united; that in speech every verbal concept must enter into some relation to "Aktionsart"; but that the subjective time-spheres ("Zeitstufen") are categories that stand outside and above the simple verb-action. Individual verbal forms may assume a relation to them, but they are nowise obliged to do so.

Herbig considers "time-sphere" ("Zeitstufe") a later development of "Aktionsart," and says that this progress (for he considers it so) was due to the shifting of the attitude of the speaker. First, the speaker only considered the *kind* of action and rendered it accordingly in his speech; later he came to consider the action of the verb, even in its *temporary relation* to the actual present in which he spoke, and rendered it accordingly. In other words, the development of the idea of "time-sphere" in connection with verbal action was really a step on the road of greater subjectivity, and it will aid in the comprehension of the history of tense-force in French if we bear in mind

¹ *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, 119.

² *Indogermanische Forschungen*, VI.

that this language has traveled far on this road, and has not yet stopped its progress.

Elsewhere Herbig remarks that we may no longer distinguish the tenses from the essence of the verbs themselves. If, taking Herbig's clue, we inquire why this is so, we find that the verb-modifications that denoted originally "Aktionsart" only, and were characteristic of those verbs to which a given "Aktionsart" was essential, by their development into tense-forms (which was the result of their entering into some relation to time-sphere), became, so to speak, a rigid frame into which eventually even those verbs could be forced whose own essence logically excluded the "Aktionsart" upon which the given tense had been molded. Herbig himself shows (p. 200) that "der modus indicativus temporis presentis und die actio perfectiva schliessen begrifflich einander aus." Nevertheless a perfective verb like "come" is often used in the present indicative tense. Yet when we say "I come," the real meaning is (a) I am doing the act that will result in my coming, (b) I have just come, (c) I came (historical present), (d) I shall or will come.¹

This discrepancy between tense-force and "Aktionsart" is especially noticeable in the passive voice. Clédat² says, "quand un mur est construit, on ne le construit plus, mais quand un homme est redouté, on le redoute encore."

All the examples that Vising gives (in his above-mentioned article) of the "imperfectum conatus" are perfective verbs: "écraser, enlever, oublier, tuer, étouffer, suffoquer, crever," and the peculiar tense-force is fully accounted for by the discrepancy of the essential "Aktionsart" of the verb and the real tense-force of the imperfect.

One of the constituent elements of tense-force is then "solidified Aktionsart," the other is "time-sphere." Time-sphere ("Zeitstufe") is, according to Herbig, the result of an increase of subjectivity in the attitude of the speaker, who brought the verbal concept into subjective relation with the actual time of his speaking. Looked at from the moment of actual speaking, time naturally appears to the

¹ The essential "Aktionsart" will, of course, be greatly influenced by the context. Thus in "I read Latin" the verb is "durative," in "I read the whole book," it is perfective, while in "I read through the five volumes of his works," the verb is iterative perfective.

² "Double valeur des temps du passif," *Revue de Philologie Française et Provençale*.

speaker in three divisions, "spheres": past, present, and future; the present being felt as somewhat more than merely a point dividing past and future. And the action of the verb seen from the time of speaking will appear, (A) as a whole, (B) in some distinct stage of progress. The action "as a whole" will be felt to be momentaneous," or "durative."¹

A) According to the essential "Aktionsart" of the verb, the simple (1) *momentaneous verb* may appear as (2) *momentaneous-inchoative* or (3) *momentaneous-perfective*; the durative verb, by stressing beginning, duration, or completion may be (4) *durative-inchoative*, (5) *durative-intensive*, (6) *durative-perfective*.

B) The act that appears in some distinct stage of progress may be (7) *begun and in progress*, or (8) *completed*. Or the beginning which is tacitly implied in every action that is seen in progress may drop out of sight altogether and leave the action (9) *in progress*, with no consideration of beginning or end, but with the important difference that continuation logically implies the reality of a beginning, but by no means necessarily of the end of the action thus viewed.

If now we bring these different possible tense-forces into a diagram and ask what tenses, if any, express them, we get the following scheme, which it is profitable to compare with Piazza's Italian one given above.

Past Time-Sphere	Present Time-Sphere	Future Time-Sphere
A, 1) La foudre frappa l'arbre. 2) Le coup partit. 3) La balle le tua. 4) Il apprit l'anglais. 5) La guerre dura longtemps. 6) Il bâtit la maison. B, 8) Les ateliers se vidèrent.	1) La foudre frappe l'arbre. 2) Le coup part. 3) La balle le tue. 4) Il apprend l'anglais. 5) La guerre dure longtemps. 6) Il bâtit la maison. 7) J'étudie l'anglais depuis quelques mois. 9) Il pleut sans cesse.	1) La foudre frappera l'arbre. 2) Le coup partira. 3) La balle le tuera. 4) Il apprendra l'anglais. 5) La guerre durera longtemps. 6) Il bâtira la maison.

¹ Mätzner denies the difference between momentaneous and durative action, since all action must have some duration, however short. Even admitting that "durative" and "momentaneous" are not essentially different, it is impossible not to insist that they do denote a very important distinction. And in the whole discussion of tenses it is well to bear in mind that we rarely have to deal with mutually exclusive opposites, but rather with frequently overlapping phases of one phenomenon.

Moreover, the context can change the action of the verb into iterative action, e.g., *La foudre frappait les arbres, Il lut les cinq volumes des œuvres de cet auteur, Il bâtit plusieurs maisons.*

The imperfect, past definite, past-future (conditional), future perfect, pluperfect, and past anterior find no place in this scheme of tenses. Why not? Because their tense-force implies not only "time-sphere" but a specialized phase of time-sphere, "standpoint" in this sphere. If time-sphere, according to Herbig, arose because the speaker brought the objective "Aktionsart" into subjective relation to the actual moment of speaking, standpoint became differentiated from pure time-sphere when the speaker took one more step on the road of subjectivity, allowing his mind to assume a definite standpoint in each time-sphere from which to view the action of the verb, primarily in relation to this subjective standpoint and secondarily, if at all, in its relation to the actual time of speaking. As far as the present is concerned, this increased subjectivity only stresses the standpoint; it by no means changes it. It would be foolhardy, indeed, from the point of view of the Romance languages to attempt to decide when and in what way standpoint was differentiated from time-sphere; whether they came into being simultaneously or consecutively.

This much seems evident, however: some tenses mark a relation both to time-sphere and to standpoint; some to standpoint only; one to time-sphere only, or at least principally. The first are, e.g., present and future; the second imperfect, past indefinite, pluperfect, past anterior, past-future, future perfect; the last one is the past definite. Much has been said and written on the difference between imperfect and past definite, and yet if my surmise should prove true, the difference would reduce itself to just this: the imperfect always implies a relation to the definite standpoint in the past time-sphere, and this relation is the one of a present to the subjective past standpoint. The past definite, on the contrary, either enters into no relation with a subjective standpoint at all, remaining thus a typical "time-sphere tense," with an unstressed relation to the time of actual speaking, or by stressing this relation, it may become a "standpoint tense"; but the standpoint is then always the present and never the past one. In modern French, however, it seems safe to say that the past definite is only a "time-sphere tense."

From the present standpoint the speaker, as we have seen, can perceive the *present* action of the verb either as a whole or in progress. The verb-action "as a whole" may be momentaneous or imply duration. With the action in progress the beginning may be stressed, or beginning and end may be equally disregarded. Since the action of the verb can be seen in all these different phases, when present to a present standpoint, there is no reason why it should not be seen in a similar way when present to the past standpoint. The imperfect expresses the action in all these possible present phases in relation to a past standpoint.

SUBJECTIVE PAST STANDPOINT

(Objective Present Action)

A, 1) Quelques minutes après il se jetait à la rivière.¹

2) Le bateau partait le lendemain.¹

3) Elle sortait du Sacré Cœur.¹

4) Walter s'installait dans son nouveau domicile.²

5) Autrefois la guerre durait plus longtemps qu'aujourd'hui.

6) Il construisait une maison.

L'empereur finissait comme il avait commencé.²

B, 7) Il y avait longtemps que nous étions en Angleterre.³

8)

9) Il pleuvait sans cesse.

(The context, moreover, can introduce iterative force: "Le bateau partait tous les jours à dix heures," "Autrefois les guerres duraient plus longtemps qu'aujourd'hui," "Il construisait des maisons.")

The imperfect in a sentence like "Il n'avait pas fait dix pas qu'il s'arrêtait, battait l'air de ses deux bras, et tombait d'un seul coup par terre,"⁴ has been called the "pictorial imperfect," and explained as being used "where normally the past definite might be expected." And it does take the place of the past definite in a certain sense, but not in the sense of bodily substitution. What really happens (if my surmise is correct) would rather be that the more subjective standpoint is substituted for the vaguer, less subjective time-sphere. Once given the past standpoint, any action that appears in the present from that standpoint, whether it be seen as a whole or in a stage of

¹ Taken from Stenhausen, *Neuere Sprachen*, II, 311.

² Vising, VII, 41.

³ E. de Pressensé, *Le petit marquis*.

⁴ Armstrong, *Syntax of the French Verb*.

progress, whether its beginning, or its duration or its completion be stressed, must of necessity take the imperfect and can take no other tense. It is this increasing encroachment of the more subjective past standpoint for the vaguer and less subjective past time-sphere that explains the preference modern French shows for the imperfect in many cases where Old French still commonly used the past definite. See on this point Vising,¹ and Morf.²

At the risk of repetition, it is necessary to insist that past time-sphere and past standpoint do not stand over against each other as mutually exclusive opposites. Standpoint is time-sphere (though all time-sphere is not standpoint) rendered, often only transiently and momentarily, more precise, more subjective.

In the following sentence: "Devenu songeur outre mesure, il lisait les *Pensées* de Pascal, il lisait la sublime *Histoire des variations* de Bossuet, il lisait Bonald, il lut saint Augustin, il voulut aussi parcourir les œuvres de Swedenborg," etc.;³ and in the sentence (quoted by Kalepky, Mätzner and Seeger), "Les accusés avaient des défenseurs, ils n'en eurent plus, . . . on les jugeait individuellement, on les jugea en masse," the change in tense from imperfect to past definite indicates that the definite standpoint assumed in past time while looking at the action of the first verbs fades for the second into mere time-sphere; and the moment this happens the past definite and not the imperfect becomes the required tense.

But is such a change from a more to a less subjective attitude possible within the same sentence? Some change in attitude is generally admitted, even in sentences like "Il arriva pendant que je parlais," of which Mr. Armstrong⁴ says, "The activity, viewed from a standpoint in the past was occurring, was going on."⁵ In this simple, commonplace sentence we have then, according to Mr. Armstrong's definitions, first the attitude of a looker-on at a present

¹ Franz. St., VII, 11.

² "Die Tempora Historica im Französischen," *Neuere Sprachen*, XI, 308.

³ Balzac, *Ursule Mirouet*, chap. vii, ed. Ollendorff, 1901, p. 105; example kindly suggested to me by Professor William A. Nitze.

⁴ *Syntax of the French Verb*, p. 30.

⁵ And in "The French Past Definite, Imperfect and Past Indefinite," *Modern Philology*, VI, 3: "The imperfect then is the tense used to stress continuation or repetition in the past. . . . Properly speaking, the imperfect is a present in a past. The speaker, instead of looking back into the past as he does when he uses the past definite, transfers himself to the time of action, so that he is a looker-on."

action, "the standpoint of a contemporary spectator" (p. 30, note), then the attitude "of looking back into the past" ("the past definite," says Mr. Armstrong, p. 35, "is the form which expresses past time"). This "past time" corresponds exactly to what I have called "time-sphere," and the past definites "*euvent*" and "*jugea*" in the one sentence, and "*arriva*" in the other equally express past time-sphere, a "looking backward" on the part of the speaker, while the imperfections equally express a "looking-on" from "a standpoint in the past." If in one sentence we feel that the past definites have inchoative force and practically stress the completion of the preceding imperfections (the tense which is considered incapable of expressing completion!), it is merely a question of context. Nothing more is needed, it seems to me, to account fully for the tense-use in these sentences than to account for it in the commonplace, "*Il arriva pendant que je parlais.*"

Again, the difference between the imperfect and past definite seems to be that the former has specialized its function of "present to a subjective past standpoint," and the latter never has entered into any relation to the past standpoint at all. It remained the typical past time-sphere tense, but also entered into (or, more exactly, stressed its existing relation to) present time, inclusive of present standpoint. In this force it eventually had a most formidable rival in the past indefinite, and it is claimed that in modern French the past definite has completely lost its force of present perfect ("*logisches Perfekt*"), a force that still survives in Italian and some other Romance languages.¹ Here again it may be well to point out that there is no opposition between the use of the same verb-form as logical perfect (present perfect) and as historical perfect, "pure time-sphere tense." The difference lies only in the greater or lesser stress laid on the subjective attitude of the speaker.²

Given the time-sphere (and the past definite is the true past tense of the time-sphere), the present standpoint is implied, weakly subjective compared to the more strongly subjective standpoint, but

¹ For an opposite view, it may be well to quote Mätzner: "Beide Zeitformen stehen auf demselben Boden der Vergangenheit, welche der Redende nicht mehr von seiner Zeitsphäre aus betrachtet, indem er sich vielmehr aus dieser schlechthin auf den Boden der objektiven Vergangenheit versetzt."

² Mätzner, p. 329: "Der Unterschied zwischen absoluten und relativen Tempora ist nicht durch die Natur derselben bedingt; jede Zeitform ist in einem gewissen Sinne relativ."

strongly subjective when compared to mere "Aktionsart." There is no past definite nowadays that has no connection with the actual time of speaking.¹ This time of speaking cannot help to imply, even if it fails to stress "present standpoint." Thus Mr. Armstrong (*Syntax of French Verb*, p. 35) says of the past definite, "It is the true past tense, and represents a looking backward." But a looking backward necessitates a point of vantage from which to look, a "standpoint," and since this standpoint is evidently not the past nor the future one, it can only be the present one. If these views prove acceptable to those competent to judge, the error of Ayer, Lücking, Mätzner, and others in grouping the past definite and imperfect together in their classification of tenses becomes apparent, and its cause can be determined. It consists in a failure to discriminate sufficiently and consistently between "time-sphere" and "standpoint," a failure that cannot help obscuring the difference between the specialization of function of the imperfect and past definite.

Granted—at least for the time being—that the past definite expresses a looking backward (from the less subjective time of speaking, if not from the more subjective present standpoint), how will the action of the verb thus looked back upon appear to the speaker? It seems to me that it is logically impossible to view the act "looked back upon" except as a whole. The tense-force of the past definite is therefore comparable to a frame which of itself must supply beginning and end. But beginning and end of the action imply some duration. Moreover, all other things being equal, the backward look will tend to bring into relief, to *stress* completion. The "Aktionsart" of the verb (easily affected as we have seen by the context) can easily shift the stress, without, however, allowing beginning and end to drop completely out of sight, as is so frequently the case with the imperfect.

Combining the tense-force of the past definite with the possible "Aktionsarten"² of the verb, we get the following results:

¹ For an almost "timeless" use the following example taken from Vising, *Frans. St.*, VII, 27, can be quoted, "Le temps détruisit toujours les liaisons des méchants."

² A comparison with the different "Aktionsarten," as Brugmann specifies them (*Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 493), may be of interest here. He distinguishes between: (1) punktuelle (momentane, perfektive, aoristische); (2) kursive (durative, imperfektive); (3) perfektische Aktion, expressing, "ein Zustand des Subjektes der sich aus einer vorhergehenden Handlung desselben ergeben hat: er

- | | |
|--|---|
| A, 1) Momentaneous: | La foudre frappa l'arbre. |
| 2) Momentaneous-inchoative: | Le coup partit. |
| 3) Momentaneous-perfective: | La balle le tua. |
| 4) Durative inchoative: | Elle apprit son malheur. |
| | Je sus ce qui en était. |
| 5) Durative: | |
| (duration unstressed) | Charlemagne fut un grand roi. |
| (duration stressed) | La guerre dura longtemps. |
| 6) Durative perfective: | La neige fondit. Les ateliers se vidèrent. |
| Iterative: | |
| (durative-perfective) | Il lut les cinq volumes des œuvres de cet auteur. |
| (momentaneous-inchoative) ¹ | Chaque jour la belle découvrit de nouvelles bontés de ce monstre. |

It should be noted that while perfective "Aktionsart" and completed stage are akin, they are not, however, identical. Still an "imperfective" durative verb forced into the "completing" tense-frame of the past definite, will produce a "cumulative" effect similar to the one produced by a perfective verb placed in the imperfect tense. "Le jour après il mourait" conveys completion to our mind just as well as "La guerre dura longtemps"; only in the first case this sense of completion is caused by the "Aktionsart" of the verb itself; in the second, by the tense-force.

When it happens that the essential "Aktionsart" and the tense-force or tense-frame exactly coincide, the "cumulative" result is a peculiar sense of fitness that tends to leave the impression of being the use *par excellence* of the given tense. Thus the fact that the imperfect does not of itself provide any limiting, completing frame, and is naturally very frequently used with durative, imperfective verbs, has tended to create the impression that to stress duration is

hat ausfindig gemacht, er weiss"; (4) iterative Aktion (geht in intensive über); (5) terminative (durativ-perfektive). His first practically covers my first three; his second, my fifth; his third, my fourth, which I have called "durative inchoative," stressing the incipient "Zustand" rather than the preceding "Handlung," which does not seem to have, from the modern French standpoint, the importance it undoubtedly had for Brugmann; his fourth "iterative" seems in French to be usually the result of the context, being rarely inherent in a verb itself. This point would require, however, closer investigation. His fifth would correspond to my sixth, and could aptly assume his designation, "terminative."

¹ Other iterative combinations are undoubtedly possible. The examples given may suffice for the present.

the vital function of the imperfect; the fact that the imperfect represents the action of any verb as present to a past standpoint, and that, therefore, the "Aktionsart" of the verb could of itself supply beginning and end, has been overshadowed.

This "completing frame" that the tense-force of the imperfect fails to supply, is always supplied by the past definite, and the "Aktionsart" of the verb will easily stress beginning and end, and bring them out with great relief. Viewed in this light, it is easy to see that the discordant opinions I have had to record contain all a certain measure of truth, though not the complete truth.

A special examination of the other tenses of the indicative (especially of the pluperfect and past anterior) would be of interest, but it shall not be undertaken here. If the principles I have tried to elucidate are accepted, their application to the other tenses of the indicative is obvious. A summary of the foregoing discussion may not be out of place, however, before returning to its application to elementary teaching.

A clear comprehension of tense-force is greatly helped by a survey of its gradual development. In their most primitive stage verb-forms denoted "Aktionsart" only, and while we have no timeless verb-forms in French today, we still have a timeless use of the present, and very rarely of a past definite.¹ The next stage of development is marked by the verb-forms that denoted time-sphere as well as "Aktionsart," and these verb-forms have given origin to our tenses. A third stage (in point of development, if not in point of time) is reached by intensifying the subjective attitude already initiated by the time-sphere tenses, through the assumption by the mind of the speaker of a definite standpoint in time-sphere, beside the moment of actual speaking.

Tenses as we have them today are a crystallization of "Aktionsart" and time-sphere, which have become indissolubly welded. But the essential "Aktionsart" of individual verbs still has more or less affinity with, or antagonism to, different tenses, and stresses their force or modifies it. In this combination of tense-force with the varied "Aktionsart" of different verbs must be sought the explanation of the apparently contradictory uses of the same tense.

¹ Compare example quoted on p. 508, note.

The following diagram will give a survey of the development of tense-force:

TIMELESS VERB-FORMS		
(No distinct verb-forms in French)		
Present		
Past definite (very rare)		
TIME-SPHERE		
Past Definite	Present	Future
Standpoint Past	Standpoint Present	Standpoint Future

(Diagram given on first page)

The third stage is the most important in the teaching of modern French, since it is the really living one; it should therefore be presented first and most vividly to beginners. The diagram is, however, capable of expansion, and the introduction of the various tense-uses, due to the essential "Aktionsart" of the verb, is merely a question of space, and the stage of advancement of the students. If I have succeeded in establishing my case, the claim will hold good that at no further stage of advancement would the student of French be called upon to take a different view of the nature of tense-force in French than he was made to take in the first place; and all later necessary distinctions can come as a natural development of the first elementary presentation. Should this elementary presentation really succeed in conveying the truth about the real nature of tense-force without the need of cataloguing long lists of "different uses" of the same tense, perhaps it is not too sanguine to hope, "dass das Wesen der Sache erfasst ist."

C. J. CIPRIANI

CHICAGO

HUMAN AUTOMATA IN CLASSICAL TRADITION AND MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE¹

In the second volume of his well-known treatise, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (2d ed., Florence, 1896, 2 vols.), Domenico Comparetti has enumerated the various automata which were ascribed to the magic art of Virgil in the Middle Ages.² Many other automata are noted in W. A. Clouston's *On the Magical Elements in the Squire's Tale with Analogues*, in Part II of John Lane's *Continuation of Chaucer's "Squire's Tale,"* Chaucer Society's Publications, Second Series (issue for 1889). Clouston's treatise has a wider scope than Comparetti's, as far as this particular matter is concerned, and his list of examples, drawn from oriental as well as occidental sources, includes all sorts of wonderful contrivances, from magical steeds like that in the *Squire's Tale* to Major Weir's staff.³ He does not devote, however, any especial attention to the French mediaeval romances. On the other hand, examples from these works have latterly been collected by Adolf Hertel in his Göttingen dissertation (1908), entitled *Verzauberte Örtlichkeiten und Gegenstände in der altfranzösischen erzählenden Dichtung*, pp. 17 ff. For some years previously I had myself been interested in the subject of human automata in literature and in my reading of the romances had noted

¹ I have limited myself to human automata, although this is, of course, only one branch of the general subject of automata. I have accordingly excluded animal automata endowed with intelligence such as are found in literature from the dogs of gold and silver that keep watch at the doors of the palace of Alcinous, *Odyssey*, vii. 91 ff., to the copper lions that guard the *pons de l'espee* that leads into the kingdom of Gorre in the *Lièvre d'Artus* of MS 337 (cf. Freymond's analysis in *Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XVII, 65) and beyond.

² For the modern period Comparetti is supplemented by C. G. Leland's *Unpublished Legends of Virgil*, New York, 1900. Notice especially as bearing on the subject of this article, the story (pp. 152 ff.) called "Virgil, the Wicked Princess, and the Iron Man." The princess calls in young men, feasts them, and sleeps with them, but at breakfast next day they are poisoned. A young friend of Virgil suffers death in the adventure, so Virgil makes an Iron Man, who goes through the experience of the rest, but the poison, of course, has no effect on him. The automaton takes her to an underground cavern where the ghosts of her murdered lovers are. There she is compelled to drink poison.

³ For instances of broom and pestle which, by magic, fulfil all commands, carry water, etc., see the article, "La fabula del pistello da l'agliata," Reinhold Köhler's *Kleinere Schiften*, II, 435 ff. (3 vols. Berlin, 1898-1900).

instances of the occurrence of this conception.¹ My list tallies substantially with Hertel's, but he has omitted some examples and has made no attempt to trace any historical connection between those that he gives. Such a connection, however, is traceable in the majority of cases. Furthermore, he merely offers the general suggestion that such conceptions are probably of oriental origin. This, I believe, is true in the main and should have been taken into account by Comparetti² in his study of the Virgil legend, since Southern Italy was peculiarly exposed to oriental influences. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that conceptions of this kind, as the following pages will show, were common in Greek literature and may have penetrated thence into the oral traditions of Western Europe.³ In any event, it is interesting to bring together the two sets of examples—ancient and mediaeval.

The earliest human automata in literature are those described in the *Iliad*, xviii. 417 ff., in connection with the visit of Thetis to Hephaestus concerning the shield of Achilles. It is to be observed that these "handmaidens of gold" are endowed with intelligence, a point that is not always clear in the mediaeval examples. The lines are as follows:

But there were handmaidens of gold that moved to help their lord, the semblances of living maids. In them is understanding at their hearts, in them are voice and strength and they have the skill of the immortal gods. These moved beneath their lord.—*The Iliad Done into English Prose*, by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Myers, London, 1907.

The following are the remaining examples in Greek literature, as far as they are known to me, which I give (in chronological order) with such comment as seems necessary in individual cases:

¹ In his note on the "Salle aux Images," J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan, par Thomas, II*, 312, note 2 (Société des Anciens Textes Français) had already cited three instances, *Huon de Bordeaux*, the prose *Lancelot*, and the continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*. See also some examples in F. Wohlgemuth's *Riesen u. Zwerge in der altfranzösischen Dichtung*, 37 f. (Leipzig, 1907). The figure in *Fierabras*, 2483 ff., however, is certainly a giantess, not an automaton. Similarly the figure cited by Hertel, p. 17, from *Fergus*, 2126 ff. (p. 58), is merely a statue.

² Comparetti, II, 19 ff., argues convincingly that the legend of Virgil originated at Naples. Clouston, p. 305, is inclined to believe that the notion of Virgil's magical images was introduced into Europe by the Arabs through Spain.

³ One has to reckon also with the possibility of independent invention—for, after all, the conception even of human automata is not a very far-fetched one. It is most likely, however, that with the Greeks also the notion of automata was of oriental origin. The story of *Talus* is ascribed to Phœnician influence in L. Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, I, 136, 4th ed., Berlin, 1894.

Pindar, *Olympia*, vii. 94 ff., praising the skill of the people of Rhodes in the arts, says: "Works of art like unto living and moving creatures used to go about their streets."¹

Plato, *Euthyphro*, Teubner ed. of Plato, I. 17, Socrates says:

Your words, Euthyphro, are like the handiwork of my ancestor Daedalus; and if I were the sayer or propounder of them, you might say that this comes of my being his relation and that this is the reason why my arguments walk away and wont remain fixed where they are placed.²

We have evidently here an allusion to automata fashioned by Daedalus—whether human or not, it is impossible to say.

The most famous of all such conceptions in literature, perhaps, is Talus, the man of brass, in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, IV, ll. 1636 ff., whom Zeus gave to Europa as a guardian of Crete:

Who was a survivor of the brazen race of ash-born men among men semi-divine.³

It is to be observed, however, from these lines that Talus was not the work of an artificer or magician, as is usually the case with such figures, but a survivor from the Age of Brass—the last of the *χάλκεον γένος* of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, ll. 143 ff., which passage Apollonius here evidently has in mind, only he interprets the adjective in a literal sense. The passage in Apollonius is too long to

¹ So translated in a note to the passage in C. A. M. Fennell's edition. This seems to me a better interpretation than "were placed in the high roads." W. Christ in his edition of Pindar (Leipzig, 1896), sees in the line a reminiscence of the above-quoted passage from the *Iliad*.

² *The Dialogues of Plato, translated into English by B. Jowett* (4 vols., New York, 1892), I, 296. This passage is cited by Fennell in the note referred to above. Socrates uses the same image in Plato's *Meno*. See Teubner ed. of Plato, III, 357.

³ Hesiod says, *loc. cit. infra*, that Zeus created the men of the Age of Brass from ash-trees. For phrases in Greek writers which seem to imply that man was originally created from trees or stones, see note to the *Iliad*, xxii. 126, in Walter Leaf's edition (2d ed., 1900-2). Similar are Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 314, and Juvenal's *Satires*, vi. 12.

In an instructive note on Talus—the best I have seen on the subject—H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonius de Rhodes: Les Argonautiques: Traduction française suivie de notes critiques* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1892), p. 402, says that only in Apollonius and Eustathius (twelfth century) is Talus represented as given to Europa by Zeus. See Eustathius' *Commentarii ad Homerum Odysseam* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1825-26), II, 238. Commenting on *Odyssey*, xx. 302, he describes how Talus caught strangers that came to Crete, leaped into the fire with them, and, holding them to his breast, grinned sardonically as they were consumed. Usually Talus is a brass giant made by Hephaestus and given by him to Minos to guard Crete. But only Apollodorus (quoted below) seems to state this distinctly. According to Cinalthos—see Pausanias, VIII. 53, cited by the French translator—Talus was the father of Hephaestus.

give in its entirety. It is sufficient to say that being of brass, Talus was invulnerable except for an artery-like pipe which, filled with ichor, runs down the side of the ankle. He prevents the Argonauts from landing by throwing stones at them, but Medea by her enchantments causes him to strike the vein against a sharp-pointed rock, so the vital fluid runs out and he perishes.

In the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus Atheniensis, p. 33 (Teubner ed.), we have a description of Talus, according substantially with that of Apollonius of Rhodes—only Apollodorus says that Hephaestus gave the man of brass to Minos, and he mentions various accounts of his end: Medea ran him insane by her arts or under the pretense of rendering him immortal, she pulled out the nail which kept in the vital fluid, and some even said that Poias had slain him by shooting him in the ankle, that is, in the one vulnerable spot.¹

Just as Apollonius interprets Hesiod in a literal sense and regards the men of the Brazen Age as really made of brass, so for Lucian the men of the Golden Age were really made of gold. In his *Cronica* (Teubner ed. of Lucian, III, 305 f.) the priest says to Cronos (Saturn) that if a man of the Golden Age were to turn up in his (the priest's) time, he would be immediately torn to pieces, so eager would everybody be to get a piece of him. See *ibid.*, p. 312 in the *Epistolae Cronicae*, for the same conception. In Lucian this might be regarded merely as a humorous fancy, but the similar passage concerning

¹ Apollodorus, p. 18, relates of a Talus of Athens that he was the nephew of Daedalus whom he rivaled in ingenuity. Daedalus at last killed him, being jealous of his skill. Evidently this Talus was not a man of brass, and he has little in common with the Cretan Talus save his name. H. de la Ville de Mirmont in the above-mentioned note speaks of the difference between the Athenian and Cretan traditions concerning Talus. He quotes a saying preserved by a scholiast from Sophocles' lost play, *Talos*, to the effect that "it was the decree of fate that this giant should die." This seems to imply the same conception of Talus as in the Cretan tradition.

In his *Observations on the "Fairy Queen" of Spenser* (2 vols., London, 1862) Thomas Warton, I, 97, cites the passage concerning Talus in Plato's *Minos* (Teubner ed. of Plato, iv. 453). Plato, however, rationalizes the legend. According to Apollodorus, Talus made the circuit of Crete three times a day; according to Plato three times a year. In Plato he is merely a strict minister of justice and was called "brazen," simply because he carried with him the laws engraved in brass. Talus, the "iron man," plays a considerable part, of course, in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book V, as the attendant of Artegall. The same character doubtless suggested to Spenser, Disdain, the giant of gold, who guards a gate in the Cave of Mammon, Book II, Canto VII, st. 40 ff.

There are references to Talus as the man of brass who makes the circuit of Crete in Lucian's *Works* (Teubner ed.), II, 160 (*Saltatio*) and III, 108 f. (*Philopseudes*). In the latter Lucian implies that the automata of Daedalus (cf. above Plato's *Euthyphro*) were wooden. The walking statue of Pelichus, the Corinthian general, in this same passage is not an automaton. It belongs rather in the realm of ghost-stories.

Talus in Apollonius of Rhodes makes it seem likely that such conceptions with regard to the Age of Gold, of Brass, etc., were not peculiar to these authors.

Let us turn now to the mediaeval romances.¹ The earliest example I am familiar with in works of this class occurs in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, ll. 352 ff. (ed. E. Koschwitz, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1900), a poem of the first half of the twelfth century. In the description of the wonders of the palace at Constantinople something is apparently wanting immediately before l. 352. The passage accordingly begins abruptly:

De cuivre et de metal tresjetet dous enfanz.
Chascuns tient en sa boche un corn d'ivoire blanc.
Se galerne ist de mer, bise ne altre venz
Qui fierent al palais dedevers occident,
Il le font torneier et menuit et sovent,
Come roë de char qui a terre descent.
Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement
Com tabors o toneires o granz cloche qui pent;
Li uns esguardet l'altre ensement en riant
Que ço vos fust viaire que tuit fussent vivant.

These lines do not appear to have influenced the later romances.

¹ The introduction of human automata (apparently endowed with intelligence) into works of this class was no doubt favored by the common notion of the Middle Ages, ultimately derived from the patristic writers, that oracles were really the voices of evil spirits concealed in images of the pagan deities—indeed, that the gods of Greece and Rome were merely devils. This is well illustrated, for instance, in the following passage of the *Roman de Thèbes*, II, 106 ff. (ed. of L. Constans for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1890):

Encor n'erent pas crestien
Mais por le siècle tot païen:
L'un aouroient Tervagan,
L'autre Mahom et Apolan;
L'un les estoilles et les signes,
Et li auquant les ymagines;
Li un fissent ymages d'or,
Qu'il pendolent en leur tresor.
L'un de keuvre, d'estain, d'argent,
Cèles de fust la poivre gent.
De çou quidoient avoir dons.
Et li dius lor donnast respons:
Ce n'ert pas voirs, ains estoit fable,
Car çou erent li vif diable
Qui les respons a els donolent
Et les caitis en decevoient.

Cf. with this *Estoire del Saint Graal*, Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1909), I, 45 (devil in an image of Mars); *Perlesvaus*, Branch XXX, 15. The devil would even enter an image of the Virgin Mary. See Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS in the British Museum*, II, 668 (London, 1893). In *Enfances Guillaume* (Léon Gautier's *Les épopées Françaises*, 2d ed., IV, 298) a man enters an image of Mahomet and simulates the oracle. Even for John Milton, oracles are the utterances of devils. See *Paradise Regained*, I, 430 ff. This conception of oracles is familiar also to Mahometans; cf. *Les cent et une nuits, traduites de l'arabe par G. Demombynes*, p. 302, Paris, 1911.

Probably¹ the next in date of the passages is the one in the *Eneas* (ca. 1160), ll. 7691 ff., ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave (Halle, 1891). Describing the tomb of Camilla, the poet says:

Ja mais la lanpe ne charra
 tant com li colons la tendra;
 il la tendreit toz tens mais bien,
 se nen esteit seul une rien:
 un archier ot de l'autre part,
 tresgetez fu par grant esguart,
 endreit le colon ert asis
 sor un perron de marbre bis;
 son arc tot entesé teneit
 et cele part visot tot dreit.
 Li boldons esteit encochiez
 et esteit si apareilliez
 que le colon de bot ferist,
 tantost com de la corde issist.
 Li archiers puet longues viser
 et toz tens mais l'arc enteser,
 mais ja li boldons n'en istreit,
 se primes l'arc ne distendeit
 li laz d'une regoteore,
 ki apareilliez ert desore,
 ki teneit l'arc toz tens tendu.
 A un sofle fust tot perdu:
 ki soflast la regoteore,
 et el destendist en es l'ore
 et li archiers idonc traisist
 dreit al colon si l'abatist,
 donc fust la chaeine rompue
 et la lanpe tote espandue.

Salverda de Grave² sees rightly in the satyr of the *Chambre de Beautés* of the *Roman de Troie* (ca. 1160), Constans' ed., II, 374 ff., the influence of this archer. The passage in question is too long to

¹ The relative date of the *Eneas* and *Roman de Troie* is not altogether settled.

² Introduction, xxix, note. He also calls attention to the fact that this lamp and archer are found in the Virgil legend. Cf. the *Image du monde* (ca. 1245) quoted by Comparetti, II, 200 f.—somewhat similar also in Conrad of Querfurt (end of twelfth century), *ibid.*, II, 186. Salverda de Grave is inclined to believe that *Eneas* is earlier than the Virgil legend. I believe myself that the latter in all probability took over this particular feature from the romances. No existing text of the legend is so old as the *Eneas* or *Roman de Troie*. The first romance that makes any considerable use of the Virgil legend is the *Cleomades* of Adenès II Rois (end of the thirteenth century). Even in Italy the diffusion of the legend was slow. See Comparetti, II, 139.

quote in full. We have there four automata, two female and two male. One of the female figures held a magic mirror, the other performed somersaults on its column. One of the male images played on all sorts of musical instruments and scattered flowers. The figure of an eagle sat on this image at which "un satirel hisdos" was constantly shooting. The second of the male images showed every man what he most needed.

In the Salle aux Images of Thomas' *Tristan*, I, 309 ff. (ca. 1170), ed. J. Bédier, (2 vols., Paris, 1902-5, for the Société des Anciens Textes Français), we have no doubt an imitation of the Chambre de Beautés of the *Roman de Troie*. At least, the images in the latter probably suggested those in the former.¹ In the *Tristan* poem, the hero has images of Iseult of Cornwall, Mark, etc., made and placed in this hall (in Brittany). Iseult's image is guarded by one of the giant, Moldagog, which was constantly brandishing an iron club (p. 312).

Contemporary with Thomas' *Tristan*—whether somewhat earlier or somewhat later it is impossible to say—is the *Roman d'Alexandre* of Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, edited by H. Michelant as Vol. XIII of the "Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart" (Stuttgart, 1846). In the section of this work called by the editor, *Fontaine de Jowence*, Alexander comes to a bridge (p. 343) defended as follows:

de l'autre part de l'pont ot i. tresgeteis
 ii enfans, de fin or, fais en molle fondis.
 li i. fu lons et grailles, l'autres gros et petis;
 members orent bien fais, vis formés et traitis;
 si com l'os aproca et il oent les cris,
 cescuns saisit i. mail, s'est li pas contredis,
 par desous ot i. brief que i. clers ot escriis,
 qu'est fait par ingremance desfendre à l'plaseis.

Alexander retires, but an old Persian who is accompanying him says that he will stop the images. This is the way he does it (p. 344):

Pres de l'encantement est cil ajenëllies
 et saut de l'pont en l'iave et puis est redreciés.
 ses mains tendi en haut et revint sor ses piés,
 puis se rabaise en l'iave, ii. fois i est plonciés.

¹ See Bédier's note to p. 309.

à la tierce fois quant il fu essechiés,
 voiant tous caus en l'iave li enfés bronciés
 par tel air en l'iave que tous est depeciés;
 voiant les ious le roi, est des poisons mangiés.
 puis que li i. d'aus fu en l'iave périlliés,
 ne pot durer li autres que ne soit depeciés.
 i. diables l'enporte ki fu aparilliés,
 les jambes li peçoient, les bras li a brisiés.

This feature of the French poem is not found in the Greek and Latin versions of the Alexander legend. Like the whole episode with which it is connected—also unrepresented in these versions—it is, no doubt, of oriental origin.¹ We have here for the first time the two automata defending the entrance to something—a conception which, as we shall see, recurs in several of the later romances.

Later on, in the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Michelant's ed., p. 445), we have two similar figures guarding with "bastons d'argent" the splendid tomb which Alexander had erected over the Admiral:

com autre champion vont-il esciermissant.

So it would seem that in both these instances the automata are endowed with intelligence.

Probably the next in date of the examples is the one found in *Floire et Blancheflor*² (end of twelfth century), p. 231, ed., E. du Méril (Paris, 1856). Here again we have doubtless oriental influence, since the whole story seems to be of oriental origin. In this case, after all, the automata are merely the result of illusion. The King is trying to divert Floire who is grieving over his separation from Blancheflor. An enchanter performs wonderful tricks for his amusement. Among other things he causes a bird to appear with a wheel in its beak.

La roëlle estoit un topace,
 Qui plus estoit clere que glace;

¹ See Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, II, 182 (2 vols., Paris, 1886). The exact source, however, is not known.

² The oldest extant version is a redaction apparently of one composed between 1160 and 1170. Cf. Joachim Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor*, pp. 4, 9, Paris, 1906. Reinhold, pp. 119 ff., disputes the oriental origin of the story, believes that the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the Old Testament Book of Esther were the true sources. In *Le moyen âge* for January-February, 1909, pp. 23 ff., however, G. Huet seems to prove that Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (including Cupid and Psyche story) was not known to the Middle Ages—at least until the thirteenth century.

Et si estoit douze piés lée.
 Une ymage i avoit formée;
 D'or estoit, grant com un vilains:
 Une harpe tint en ses mains,
 Et harpe le lai d'Orphéy:
 Onques nus hom plus n'en oi
 Et le montée et l'avalée:
 Cil qui l'oent moult lor agrée.
 Atant es vous un chevalier
 Mervilleus saus sor son destrier;
 De cors n'avoit mie deus pies;
 De gambes ert si alongiés,
 Asses plus que toise et demie;
 Lors cantoit clere melodie.

Human automata are also found in several of the principal Arthurian romances. The exact order of composition of these romances has not been fixed, but I have adopted that which seems to me most probable:

First in the *Conte del Graal*, ll. 13353 ff. (ed. Potvin, 6 vols., Mons, 1866-71), in the so-called *Livre de Karados*, really a separate biographical romance, inserted in the first continuation to Chrétien's poem.¹ The passage runs as follows (describing the entrance to Alardin's tent):

Car a l'issue de la tente
 Estoient par encantement
 II. ymages d'or et d'argent;
 Del pavellon li uns fermoit
 L'uis et l'autres desfermoit;
 Jà n'i eust autre portier;
 Et encore d'autre mestier
 Servoient, car l'une est manière
 De bien harper à grant manière;
 L'autre ymage del autre part
 Ens en sa main tenoit un dart,
 Jà n'i veist entrer vilain
 Ne le ferist trestout a plain;
 Et l'autre ymage qui tenoit
 La harpe une costume avoit:

¹ Cf. Miss J. L. Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 14, 16 (2 vols., London, 1906-9). The *Livre de Karados* belongs to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

Puciële ne s'i puet celer;
 Qui ensi se face apiêler
 Por oec que soit despucelée,
 Tantos come vient à l'entrée
 La harpe sone la descorde;
 De la harpe ront une corde.

In the image of the harper here we have simply a new application of the *motif* used later on in this same *Livre de Karados* (*Conte del Graal*, ll. 15640 ff.), where no knight is able to drink out of a certain horn, unless his wife is chaste.¹ This test of chastity no doubt suggested also the test of nobility with which the other figure is concerned.² The writer was, besides, probably familiar with the archer of the *Eneas* and *Roman de Troie* (see passage quoted above).

The prose *Lancelot*³ contains examples: cf. H. O. Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1910), III, 144, 151, 191, in the Dolerouse Garde episode. In the first two passages it is a question of the copper effigy of an armed knight on horseback over the second gate who falls as soon as the man destined to conquer the castle passes the first gate. This effigy, however, does not defend the castle. It is different with the two copper knights of the third passage which guard the entrance to a chamber in the cave with their swords. Lancelot passes them with great difficulty, casts into a well the monstrous man with black head and flaming mouth who guards another door, and comes to a copper damsel who holds the keys of the enchantments in her right hand. He takes them, goes to a copper pillar in the midst of the room where he finds the inscription: "Ichi desferme la grosse clef et le menue desferme le coffre perilleus." He opens the pillar and then the coffer, despite the effort to frighten him made by the devils in the latter. On going forth he discovers that the enchantments have all been undone and the copper images broken.

¹ For such chastity tests—a widespread *motif*—see F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 257 ff.

² Hertel, p. 18, cites also the figures in the *Chevalier au cygne*, p. 116, ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1874 (thirteenth century redaction), which pointed to anyone who rendered a false judgment.

³ This is commonly assigned to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It may possibly belong, however, to the end of the twelfth century.

From the closing years of the twelfth century we have brazen men in the Virgil legend¹—in Conrad of Querfurt the brazen archer whose arrow started the eruption of Vesuvius—in Gervase of Tilbury the brazen trumpeter who blew back the ashes from this same mountain—in Alexander of Neckham, the spearman of brass at Rome who pointed in the direction from which danger was impending—but the first text cited by Comparetti, which ascribes to Virgil the invention of automata who guard something with their weapons, is a version of *L'image du monde*, composed about 1245—so long after this conception had become a commonplace of the romances, without reference to Virgil. It is plain from this that the Virgil legend was influenced by the romances—probably more than vice versa. The copper images in the prose *Lancelot* were no doubt suggested by the descriptions in Thomas' *Tristan* and the *Roman d'Alexandre*, cited above.

In its turn the *Lancelot* passage, I believe, served as the model for the *Perlesvaus*.² See Potvin's ed., *Perceval le Gallois*, I, 63 f., 201 ff. In the first of these passages Gawain comes to a castle guarded by a lion and by two "vileins de cuivre marssis qui fichiez estoient el mur et descochoient par anging quarriaus d'arbaleste par grant force et par grant air." More extensive is the passage (201 ff.) describing Perceval's adventure at the Copper Castle. "Il avoit dedanz le chastel mout de gent qui le cor³ de cuivre aouroient et qui ne créoient en autre Dieu." There were evil spirits in this image whose utterances were accepted as oracles. The entrance to the castle was guarded by two men "fez par l'art de nigromance" who kept striking with two big iron mallets. Perceval crosses the bridge which leads to the entrance. A voice from above the entrance tells him that the "vileins de coivre" cannot harm so good a knight as he is. So it turns out, for they cease their blows, as he passes in. He finds the

¹ Cf. the texts assembled by Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, II, 185 ff.

² The date of the *Perlesvaus* is much disputed. It seems to me manifestly subsequent to the prose *Lancelot*, even if we accept the theory that the extant MSS preserve only a later redaction of the romance. W. A. Nitze puts it between 1200 and 1212. See his *Old French Grail Romance, Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 103. But A. Jeanroy, *Revue critique*, October 10, 1904, agrees with Birch-Hirschfeld that it belongs in the second third of the thirteenth century. This, I believe, is too late.

³ So throughout Potvin's text—that is, "horn." I have no doubt, however, that the true reading is "tor" = bull.

inhabitants all worshipping the image within. He summons them to a meeting in a hall of the castle, and the voice bids him compel them to run the gauntlet of the two copper men—"car la porra-il bien esprouver liquel voudront Dieu croire et liquel non" (p. 203). Out of one thousand five hundred only thirteen stood the test. The rest were destroyed by the copper men. The evil spirit who was in the "cor de coivre" issued forth and the "cor" itself melted.

In the episode of the Turning Castle (pp. 194 ff.) a little before the one just quoted, there are on top of the castle copper cross-bow archers and trumpeters, who, of course, prove ineffectual against Perceval. The romancer even attributes to Virgil the invention of this castle when the philosophers went in quest of the Earthly Paradise. We have here again, however, an instance of the Virgil legend absorbing material which was originally independent of it. The Turning Castle is a Celtic conception.¹

Curious is the automaton representing a beautiful woman with which Mordrain, before his conversion, was in the habit of lying,² according to the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand Saint Graal*, as it is often called), Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, 83: "Cele samblance estoit de fust la plus bele qui onques fust ueue en guise de feme si gisoit li rois o lui carnelment et le uestoit al plus richement quil pooit et li auoit fait faire vne cambre dont il ne quidoit mie que nus hons morteus peust trouver luis." The *Estoire del Saint Graal* was composed early in the thirteenth century. Mordrain's strange custom reminds one of the remarkable story told in the pseudo-Lucianic dialogue, *Amores*, Teubner ed. of Lucian's Works, II, 214 ff., according to which a young man fell so desperately in love with the statue of Aphrodite (by Praxiteles) in her temple at Cnidus that he secreted himself in the building one night to have access to the image of the goddess.³

Doubtless in imitation of the prose *Lancelot* we have a copper knight defending the entrance to a castle in the prose *Tristan* (ca.

¹ See G. Huet, *Romania*, XL (1911), 235 ff.

² For a similar custom (with sexes reversed) in the actual marriage rites of many heathen peoples in the Far East, see W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (pp. 270 ff.), herausgegeben von F. von der Leyen, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905.

³ Cf. also the singular story, Plutarch's *Moralia*, vii. 46 f. (Teubner ed.), of how Zeus excited Here's jealousy by a female image of wood.

1220), E. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 223, Paris, 1890. Morgain la Fée established the enchantments of the castle. Galahad is to overthrow the copper knight at the same moment that Girflet reads a certain inscription over the castle-gate.

About the same date¹ as the prose *Tristan* is *Huon de Bordeaux*. We have in this poem (ll. 4562 ff.; ed. F. Guessard and C. Grandmaison, Paris, 1865) a description of how two copper men with flails guard the entrance to the castle of Dunostre, built by Julius Caesar. The fairy-king, Auberon, describing it, says:

Et s'a .ii. hommes a l'entrer de l'ostel;
 Tout sout de keuvre et fait et compasé,
 Si tient cascuns .i. flaiel acouplé;
 Tout sont de fer, moult font a redouter.
 Tout ades batent et yver et esté,
 Et si vous di, par fine verité,
 Une aloete qui bien tost set voler
 Ne poroit mie ens el palais voler
 Que ne fust morte; ne poroit escaper.

A great giant named Orgueilleus inhabits the castle. In ll. 4715 ff. it is described how Huon goes to Dunostre and finds the automata, as Auberon had described them. At first he does not know what to do, but he sees a gold basin hanging near by, on which he strikes three times. A maiden hears it and comes to his assistance. She opens a door and a wind issues forth which overthrows the figures.

These figures were, no doubt, suggested by those in the Dolerouse Garde episode of the prose *Lancelot*, cited above.²

In the Middle High German poem *Diu Crône* (ca. 1220) by Heinrich von dem Türlin (ll. 6993 ff.; ed. G. H. F. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852) we have a black figure with a horn—the work of a necromancer—which gave warning by its blasts, whenever a strange knight came to the castle. This reminds one of Virgil's brazen spearman, described by

¹ On this subject see Carl Voretzsch, *Die Composition des Huon von Bordeaux*, p. 88, Halle, 1900.

² In his Halle dissertation (1910), *Die Einflüsse der Arthurromane auf die Chansons de Geste*, p. 34, G. Engel explains them as imitations of those in the *Conte del Graal* ll. 13353 ff., quoted above, but they are evidently much more like the figures in the prose *Lancelot*. For a summary of discussion as to this Dunostre episode of *Huon de Bordeaux*, see Engel, *ibid.*, 33 ff.

Alexander of Neckham, Comparetti, II, 193, who pointed with his spear in the direction from which there was danger impending. *Diu Crône* is, of course, based on French materials—largely lost.

We will not dwell on the automata ascribed to Virgil in *Cleomadès* (end of the thirteenth century) (pp. 52 ff.; ed. A. Van Hasselt, Brussels, 1865). Most of these seem derived from the Virgil legend which grew up at Naples and are sufficiently discussed in Comparetti's treatise. In any event I see no especial influence of the romances in this passage. By the fourteenth century Virgil's fame as a magician was so well established that a poet was at liberty to father on him any wonderful conception. Thus the author of the *Dame de lycorne* (first third of the fourteenth century) (ll. 3882 ff.; ed. F. Gennrich, Dresden, 1908) ascribes to him the invention of the two copper knights that fight under a turning tree.

Contemporary with the *Dame de lycorne* is *Li bastars de Buillon*, ed. A. Scheler, Brussels, 1877. Here (pp. 129 f.) we have the two men of gold that guard the rose with their flails until the knight who is destined to pluck it shall come. Paulin Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXV, 605 ff., (1869), considers this an imitation of the episode in the prose *Lancelot*, quoted above. The flails, however, seem to show that the writer had rather *Huon de Bordeaux* in mind.

It will be observed that the mediaeval automata, unlike those in Homer and Apollonius, have only a very limited intelligence, if intelligence it can be called. They are created for some single function—usually to guard an entrance—and nothing more.¹ In this regard they resemble more nearly similar figures in oriental stories. I have made no full collection of these latter. Clouston, pp. 304 f., has given one or two examples from the Arabian Nights, and there are some other instances in the same collection. Thus in the tale called *Djaudar*² a copper trumpeter announces the approach of a stranger, just like the figure in *Diu Crône*, cited above, and in

¹ Notice, however, the example cited by Clouston, p. 298, from the Sanskrit *Kaithā Sarit Sāgara*, translated by C. H. Tawney, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1880–81 (Bibl. Indica, New Series, No. 456). Here we have a vast city, the inhabitants of which are all wooden automata. Clouston gives the reference as Vol. I, p. 290. On looking up the matter I found that this reference is wrong, and in the time that I was able to give to it I did not discover what is the right reference. No doubt, however, the passage is in one of the two volumes.

² V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1886*, V. 265 (Liège and Leipzig, 1901).

*The Enchanted Horse*¹ a golden trumpeter gives warning, as soon as a spy enters the town, and causes him to drop dead.² In the former case it turns out that an evil spirit is in the automaton. The following passage (cited by Clouston, p. 304) in W. F. Kirby's *The New Arabian Nights: Select Tales Not Included by Galland or Lane* (p. 215; London, 1882) reads quite like the one in the *Perlesvaus*, for example. It is in the story called *Joodar of Cairo and Mahmood of Tunis*. Misram, in his endeavor to deliver a maiden from captivity, has to go to the Castle of Pillars. He receives from Shilshanum the following directions: "Go through this hall into another, the door of which you will open with the third golden key. Here you will see two copper statues holding European bows in their hands and arrows which crush the hardest rocks to powder. As soon as they take aim at you, touch their bows with your sword and they will fall from their hands."

I have no doubt that oriental tales similar to these, penetrating into Europe by way of Constantinople, Southern Italy, or Spain, constituted originally the chief source of such conceptions in the romances and in the Virgil legend.

Modern literature lies outside of the scope of this article; so, in conclusion, I will content myself with citing as the most famous instance of an automaton in the fiction of recent centuries: E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann*. Through its derivatives, the opera, *Contes d'Hoffmann*, and the ballet, *Coppelia*, the automaton in this tale, representing a beautiful girl, is particularly well known to the present generation.³ In the work of the modern writer the *motif* is,

¹ V. Chauvin, *ibid.*, p. 225.

² For the copper knight, who points the way, in the famous "City of Brass" tale, see Victor Chauvin, V, 33; cf., too, the *Ville de cuivre* in Godefroy Demombynes, *Les cent et une nuits*, p. 317, Paris, 1911. Earlier in the same story (pp. 302 ff.) occurs the idol animated by an evil spirit. Demombynes, p. 306, note 1, speaks of these magic statues, so frequent in oriental tales, as suggested by the monuments of Egypt and classical antiquity.

I have made no systematic search of folk-tales for the automaton *motif*. Despite its title, the widespread tale *L'homme de fer* contains no automaton. Cf. E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, II, 1 ff. It is a story of the Aladdin's Lamp type. In F. Panzer's *Beowulf*, Munich, 1910, I observe (p. 28) an iron man made by a smith. He talks and helps his maker. This is cited from a folk-tale. So *ibid.*, p. 47, iron and wooden children.

³ Hoffmann's *Serapion's Brüder* fairly swarms with automata, the best of them being the Talking Turk. None of them, however, is equal to the heroine of *Der Sandmann*. The sole source of Hoffmann's automaton lore was Wiegleb's *Unterricht in der natürlichen Magie*, 20 vols., Berlin, 1786-1805. Cf. P. Sucher, *Les sources du merveilleux chez*

of course, used with an art infinitely superior to anything which the Middle Ages can exhibit. The latest example I have observed is in Anatole France's *L'île des Pingouins*, p. 156 (1907), where the Franciscan monk finds in Ireland a beautiful woman who sang to the lute, but in the end turned out to be an automaton. This may be a reminiscence of Hoffmann.

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E. T. A. Hoffmann, pp. 104 ff., Paris, 1912. A common swindle in the age of Cagliostro was fortune-telling by automata. Someone, however, was, of course, always concealed in the contrivance.

The most elaborate use of the automaton motif in literature is to be found in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *L'Ève future* (1886), to which my colleague, Professor L. P. Shanks, has called my attention. The heroine of this book, Hadaly, evidently suggested by Hoffmann's Olympia, is an automaton invented (or created) by Edison. The scene of the story is Menlo Park.

INDEX TO THE LIFE-RECORDS OF CHAUCER

The Life-Records of Chaucer, as published by the Chaucer Society in 1900, comprises all that was known of the poet and his family at that time. The collection is invaluable, but the lack of an *index nominum* much impairs its usefulness. This lack I have now undertaken to supply.¹

The records here indexed are found in the following pages of the volume: pp. 12-38, 105-113, 139-342.²

All contemporary names have been included, except those of kings and queens and that of Geoffrey Chaucer. Official titles are usually omitted. Christian names are generally modernized and their variations in spelling disregarded. In surnames, however, all variants have been recorded, except in the matter of final *e* and in the case of the name *Chaucer*. The preposition *de* and the articles *le* and *la* are retained, but not alphabetically considered. When, however, a surname occurs both with and without *de*, *le*, or *la*, it has not been thought necessary to specify which form is used in each particular instance.

The references are to *page* and to *number of entry*. The date of each entry, as fixed by the editor, is also given.

The following abbreviations have been used:

- A = Ambassador
- B = Business associate
- F = Family
- GH = John of Gaunt's household
- J = Justice of Peace
- KH = King's household
- P = Associate in Parliament
- UH = Countess of Ulster's household

¹ I am greatly indebted to Professor Tatlock, who has been at pains to answer numerous questions. My wife has had the kindness to give the references a final checking in the manuscript.

² Certain records which have come to light since 1900 have of course not been included in this Index. I may mention, for example, those of Geoffrey Chaucer, first cited by Professor O. E. Emerson (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI, 19) from R. Delachenal's *Histoire de Charles V*, II, 241, and printed in full from the record by Dr. Samuel Moore (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII, 79); John "Chaufecore," *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LX, 179, note (pointed out to me by Professor Tatlock); Nicholas Chaucer, *Grocers Company, Copies in Facsimile of MS Records*, I, 1345-1428 (London, 1886, ed. Kingdon).

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ERNEST P. KUHL

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THE HEYWOOD CIRCLE AND THE REFORMATION¹

By using the rather pretentious title above I do not wish to imply that I intend to treat exhaustively the various fortunes that befell John Heywood and his Catholic friends and relatives in the course of the Reformation in England. My object is rather to present a series of notes which, I believe, will clarify certain minor points in the career of Heywood, and which taken together will strengthen the evidence pointing to the dramatist's youthful residence at North Mimms in Hertsfordshire and his early admission to the group which clustered around Sir Thomas More. Naturally we should expect the various members of this remarkable circle, drawn together by common intellectual interests and bound to one another by intermarriage and a common religion, to have experienced similar fortunes. That such was the case will appear in the following pages. Especially interesting to us is the apparent intimacy that existed between Heywood and the other members of the group throughout these experiences.

According to an early writer, John Heywood was introduced to the court by Sir Thomas More, an admirer of his musical talent and witty conversation. That he was for a long time intimately associated with Sir Thomas there can be no doubt, since Stapleton in acknowledging the sources of his information for the *Vita*² of More mentions together with Jno. Clement, Wm. Rastell, and others "Joannes quoque Haiwodus quo per aliquot annos familiariter Thomas Morus usus fuerat"; and whatever may have occasioned Heywood's connection with the court, it is virtually certain that he enjoyed more or less favor at the hands of Henry VIII.

Before presenting the indications of royal favor, however, we may note that there are obviously several John Heywoods mentioned

¹ I am unwilling to publish this article without expressing my thanks to Professor J. M. Manly for several valuable suggestions and for the loan of books. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor C. R. Baskervill for whom the paper was originally prepared.

² *Tree Thomas*, ed. of 1612, p. 152. The work appeared originally at Douay in 1588. The words *Multis annis familiarissimus*, which John Pits later used to describe Heywood's relationship to More (cf. *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 237), are also of interest in this connection.

in government documents between 1520 and 1558. In some cases, therefore, we cannot be certain that the dramatist is concerned.¹ The situation is further complicated by the fact that the name Heywood is sometimes spelled Hayward and vice versa.²

Under the circumstances, then, we are not quite sure that the "singer" is referred to when we read among the grants of February, 1521, that "John Haywod, the King's servant," was granted an annuity of ten marks "as had by Th. Farthyng, deceased, out of the issues of the Manors of Makesey and Torpull, Northt." (*L. and P.*,³ III, Pt. 1, p. 445). Collier, taking this to be a certain reference to the dramatist, could not understand why a few years later Heywood should be receiving quarter wages of 50s. His explanation was that Heywood after receiving the annuity was made Master of certain children, hence his salary as singer was reduced to £10 annually.⁴ Collier did not know, however, that in April of the same year the annuity of 10 marks was declared invalid (*L. and P.*, III, Pt. 1, p. 479). The quarterly payments of 50s. to "John Heywood player at virginals" which confused Collier are explained by the following grant: "To John Haywood, upon a warrant dated November 8, 20 Henry VIII, for his pension of 10£ a year, to be paid quarterly from Michaelmas last, 50s." (*L. and P.*, V, 306). Quarter wages of 50s. to "John Haywood, player on the virginals," are recorded at various times from March, 1529, to Christmas, 1545.⁵

¹ Some references may be cited. In December, 1520, "John Haywood, singer" was paid 100s. (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ed. by Brewer and Gairdner, III, Pt. 2, p. 1543). There can hardly be any doubt here. Among the disbursements for the same year, however, a "John Halwode, yeoman of the crown," is paid for bringing news from Ireland (*ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 499), and in 1523 and 1526 a "John Haywod" was collecting rents for Sir Adrian Fortescue (*ibid.*, III, Pt. 2, p. 1317; IV, Pt. 3, p. 3116). In a document of August 8, 1544, of "the wages paid to labourers sent into France" a "John Heywood" is given as one of the captains of the men (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 2, p. 20).

² Two interesting cases may be noted. Wriothesley in writing of Heywood's recantation in 1544 speaks of "Hayward" (*Chronicle*, I, 148). In 1604 Dean Sutcliffe accused Robert Parsons of being the bastard son of "Haywood" who was "in his time a mad ieasting knave" (cf. *Miscellany of Catholic Record Society*, II, 43). The dean has reference to John Hayward who after receiving the living of Nether Stowey, Somersetshire, discovered Parsons and sent him to school. See E. L. Taunton, *Hist. of the Jesuits in Eng.*, p. 14, where the form John Heywood is retained.

³ Hereafter the abbreviation *L. and P.* will be used for Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*.

⁴ *Annals of Stage*,² I, 73-74.

⁵ *L. and P.*, V, 309; XIII, Pt. 2, p. 528; XVI, 184, 704; XVII, 478; XX, Pt. 2, p. 515.

Other items are more doubtful. A letter dated July 28, 1539, from John Whederykke, clerk, late of St. Osith's, concerns a farm and is addressed to "John Heywoode, gent," (*L. and P.*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 577). On November 21, 1540, a "John Heywood" leased the Manor of Brokehall, Essex,¹ in the king's hands by the attainder of Thos. Crumwell, for 21 years, at 14£ 18*d.* rent and 18*d.* increase" (*L. and P.*, XVI, 172). Possibly the same person is recorded, January 10, 1533, in the following list of recipients of plate, the receivers of New Year's gifts from the king: "To the Earl of Wiltshire, Thos. Hermage, the bp. of Ely, Sir John Daunce, Sir Francis Brian,—Heywood, lord Dacris of the South, etc." Along with such worthies appear "Anth. Toote, graver," "Vincent, clock-maker," and others (*L. and P.*, VI, 14). With such records should be compared the grant by the crown to John Heywood on November 10, 1558, of the lease of Bolmer Manor and other property in Yorkshire at a rent of £30 (*Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 112).

Other documents are concerned with less important matters. On November 4, 1541, a "tenement, &c., in tenure of John Haywoode, and formerly leased to Thos. Yong, in the parish of St. Peter in Woodstreete," was granted by the crown to Morgan Phillipp, the king's goldsmith (*L. and P.*, XVI, 576). On June 23, 1545, "two messuages" in "tenure of John Heywood and John Coke in Whitechurch parish, Dors.," were granted to Wm. Beryff and John Multon (*L. and P.*, XX, Pt. 1, p. 661). In the same year land in Burstall, Oxon, in the tenure of "John Heywoodde" and others was turned over to Robt. Browne (*ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 545). Among the grants of March, 1546, to Geo. Rythe and Thos. Grantham in fee for £1,596 was included property "in tenure of John Haywoodde in Kylby, Leic." (*L. and P.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 243).

As was said above, it is not always possible to decide whether the dramatist is really referred to in some of the various documents containing the name of John Heywood; and extreme care should be exercised before stating with assurance when and where he was concerned. Until reliable evidence to show the contrary is brought

¹ It is perhaps worth while to note in this connection that Barnaby Googe in his translation *On Husbandry* quotes Heywood regarding Essex cheese (Hazlitt's ed. of Dodsley, I, 326). On the early fame of Essex cheese-making, see the *Victorian County Histories*, Essex, II, 369-70.

to bear, however, we are perhaps justified in believing that he held considerable crown land in tenure during the reign of Henry VIII, and that he enjoyed a rather prominent place among his fellows. This would be in keeping with the circle in which he moved and the prominent position of his sons at Oxford and elsewhere. And such indications of prosperity and favor are not entirely without interest in connection with his religious experiences.

So far as I have observed, no especial inconvenience seems to have been occasioned the Heywood circle until several years after the death of More. The Six Articles which Henry rather harshly enforced (cf. Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, pp. 259-64) could have caused no trouble to the religious consciences of persons with such pronounced Catholic views. Their trouble, it seems, arose from a too sanguine desire to see the Articles employed in the interest of Catholicism, a desire which in 1544 led some of them into serious difficulties with respect to the Act of Supremacy.

Encouraged by the institution of the Six Articles, certain Catholics, prominent among whom were Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, Serles, and Willoughby, undertook to overthrow Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Much evidence against him was collected and elaborate accusations were drawn up.¹ Owing, however, to Henry VIII's staunch friendship for the archbishop, the commission which was to seek out his misdeeds was changed, as it were, into a commission with the archbishop at its head to inquire into the "confederacy" of the plotters.² Cranmer's commission began its operations in August, 1543, but after sitting for six weeks it accomplished nothing owing to the fact that the chief agents, Cocks and Hussey, were secretly favorable to the Papists. But Morice, the archbishop's secretary, seeing the state of affairs, wrote to Dr. Butts. As a result of his letter Dr. Leigh and Dr. Rowland Taylor were appointed at the head of a new commission to investigate Kentish conditions. In a few hours the whole plot was unearthed, and heaps of damning papers were accumulated and carried to Lambeth for the king's perusal. The chief agents against Cranmer were thrown into prison and kept there until early in 1544 when most of them were

¹ Summarized in Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, I, 167-69.

² For full accounts see Strype, *Cranmer*, I, 144-77; Pollard, *Cranmer*, pp. 147-56; Dixon, *Church Hist.*, II, 334-38; *L. and P.*, XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 291-378.

liberated as the result of a general pardon granted by Parliament, a pardon, says Morice, secured by the great labor of "thair frendes."

Following the decidedly prejudiced accounts of Morice, Foxe, and Strype, some historians have stressed the ease with which the plotters escaped punishment. But this was not entirely the case. As a result of the agitation Symonds, London, and Ockham were deservedly punished. Bishop Gardiner lost permanently the king's favor. Others who had been so unfortunate as to involve themselves with the Act of Supremacy, either directly or indirectly, as a result of the investigation, were dealt with most harshly. Germain Gardiner, Jno. Larke, and Ireland were executed; Heywood barely escaped.

After this brief and general account of the plot against Cranmer, let us turn to a more detailed discussion of the part played by Heywood and his friends in the Kentish agitation. "The chief witnesses" against the archbishop, says Strype,¹ "and the persons concerned as vouchers and informers were Roper, Balthazar, a surgeon, Heywood, Moor, Beckinsal, Germain Gardiner." This seems to have been the case; and in a set of "Interrogatories" drawn up by Cranmer in 1543 to be used against Jno. Parkehurst, the first question reads: "First, what communication by word or writing you had with Mr. Roper, Balthasar the Surgeon, Heywode, Mr. Moore, Jermen Gardiner, Mr. Bekensale, or with either of them, and to what effect such communication hath been" (*L. and P.*, XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 297-98). The same set of questions asks what communication was had "with the chancellor of London, Dr. Cole or Dr. Clemen,² and my lord of Winchester's chaplain, Mr. Medowes, touching my Lord's Grace, Dr. London, these new opinions or enormities in Kent." As will be shown later, the former friends of Sir Thomas More are well represented in the list of names above. The retaliatory accusations urged against them seem to have been somewhat varied; their fortunes were especially so.

That the "Mr. Moore" mentioned above was John More, son of Sir Thomas, is revealed by the grant of April 24, 1544, when "John More of *Chelsith, Midd.*, alias of *Bamburgh, Yorks.*, alias

¹ *Memorials of Cranmer*, I, 169.

² Doctor John Clement the physician, friend and protégé of More.

of London," was pardoned of "all treasonable words with the detestable traitors, John Eldryngton, Germain Gardyner, John Bekynsale, John Heywood, Wm. Daunce, John Larke, clerk, John Ireland, clerk, Roger Ireland, clerk, with restoration of goods" (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 285). Here Heywood is associated with other members of the More circle—Wm. Daunce, the husband of More's daughter, Elizabeth, John Larke, the parish priest of Sir Thomas, and John Ireland, his chaplain.

Some of the persons associated with Heywood seem to have escaped with comparative ease. More and Daunce were duly pardoned.¹ The pardon of John Ireland is dated June 28, 1545.² Neither Balthasar the surgeon³ nor Dr. Clement seems to have been seriously inconvenienced. The latter in the "Augmentations of 1546" is not paid his £3 6s. 8d. as royal physician (*L. and P.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 311; Pt. 2, p. 444), but this was no doubt due to his election in 1544 to the presidency of the College of Physicians.⁴

The "Mr. Roper" of Cramner's "Interrogatories" is of course William Roper, the husband of Sir Thomas More's favorite daughter, Margaret. According to an old writer,⁵ his offense was relieving "Maister Bekenshowe, a learned man,"⁶ with his alms, as a result

¹ Daunce's pardon is dated April 24, 1544 (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 284-85). Neither More nor Daunce seems to have had further trouble with Henry. In May, 1546, the latter as son and heir of Sir John Daunce was granted the lands held by his father (*ibid.*, XXI, Pt. 2, pp. 243-44); and in a muster-book for the French army in 1544 a John More, probably the one pardoned above, is placed among the king's household as furnishing "2 Billemen, pikes and other" (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 162). More died in 1547.

² *L. and P.*, XX, Pt. I, p. 125.

³ Balthasar Guersie or Guarsy was an Italian surgeon to Queen Catherine. For the chief facts of his life see Munk, *College of Physicians*, I, 57.

⁴ Munk, I, 26.

⁵ Cf. Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, II, 121.

⁶ In order to correct a mistake which has crept into the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, it may be well to point out a few facts in the life of John Bekinsau or Bekynsal. *D.N.B.* after saying that Bekinsau was Greek reader at Paris shortly after 1530, states that "having returned to England, Bekinsau married, and so vacated his fellowship" (IV, 141). Is all of this true? On June 5, 1537, he wrote to Dr. Knight that he expected to return to England *cum pannis* after midsummer (*L. and P.*, XII, Pt. 2, p. 13). This he seems not to have done, since on October 29, 1538, he wrote from Paris to Cromwell that he had married a French woman, "which he did to avoid his friends soliciting him to be a priest" (*ibid.*, XIII, Pt. 2, p. 277). In October, 1539, Cromwell granted "Berkensau, a scholar of Paris," £10 (*ibid.*, XIV, Pt. 2, p. 343; cf. also V, 748-749); and at least as late as October 26 of the same year he was still in Paris (*ibid.*, p. 138). By 1543 he had returned to England, and on May 6, 1544, "John Bekynsawe, of Borowclere, Hants, alias John Beckensall of London," was pardoned of treasonable intercourse in Paris with Reginald

of which he was sent to the Tower. That he was actually imprisoned and released on the payment of a fine is shown by the following entry in the accounts of the king's jewels and plate: "Feb. 29, [1544] brought in to the King, by Sir Richard Southwell, one of the general surveyors, for the fine of Wm. Roper being in the Tower of London, 100£." (*L. and P.*, XVII, p. 147). He is included in a 1544 list of commissioners for Kent (*ibid.*, XX, Pt. 1, p. 316); and his name appears in the muster-book of August of the same year (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 152). His subsequent career is well known. He remained in England until his death, gaining a reputation for his charity and suffering various inconveniences on account of his faith and his generosity to his persecuted friends.¹ This sometime radical Protestant who, according to Harpsfield, Stapleton, and Cresacre More, was converted to Catholicism by his father-in-law and wife, remained true to his new religion until the end; and Guzman de Silva writing to the Spanish king on July 10, 1568, stated that Roper's children were all "strong Catholics" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1568-79, p. 52).

Others did not fare so well. Germain Gardiner, Bishop Gardiner's secretary, was attainted, and in March, 1544, was executed. On March 8, 1544, Richard Richardson, the king's chaplain, was presented to the parish church of Chelsea,² vacant by the attainder of Larke (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 175). Together with John Ireland, he had been martyred at Tyburn on March 7 of the same year.³

Heywood's experiences were somewhat different from those associated with him in the "Interrogatories." On April 12, 1544, Lord St. John and Sir Edmund Pecham were commissioned "to

Pole and others (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 377-78). In 1546 he published, with a dedication to the king, his *De supremo et absoluto regis imperio*, a work which, according to Bale, was written "only for lucre." Whatever may have been Bekinsau's intentions, his book apparently accomplished its purpose, for in 1546 the author was granted a pension (*L. and P.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 142) and, it seems, also an annuity of £25 (*ibid.*, p. 148). For his subsequent career see *D.N.B.* and Wood's *Athen Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, col. 308.

¹ See Birt, *The Eliz. Religious Settlement*, pp. 517, 434; *Spanish Papers*, 1568-79, p. 52; *D.N.B.*, etc.

² Larke was appointed to the rectory of Holy Trinity, Chelsea, on March 29, 1530 (Hennessy's ed. of Newcourt, *Novum repertorium*, p. 120).

³ Hennessy (*Novum repertorium*, p. xxli), and others following him, date Larke's execution March 7, 1554/55. This is of course, a slip for 1544. Cf. Bridgett, *Life of More*, p. 143, and Sander, *The Anglican Schism* (trans. of Lewis), p. 155. Sander stated that about the same time Ashby, James Singleton, John Risby, and Thomas Rice were also executed "because they would not acknowledge the royal supremacy."

take the account of Sir Ric. Southwell, one of the General Surveyors, of money, plate, jewels, corn, cattle, and received by him, which came to the King by the deaths of Ric. Nyke, late bishop of Norwich, and of Sir Geo. Lawson, and by the attainders of Jane late Lady Rocheford, Germyn Gardener, late of London, John Haywood, late of London, John Larke, clerk, late parson of Chelsey, Midd., and John Ireland" (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 277). Here is a rather grewsome list. But Heywood, it seems, was "not of mind to be a martyr." A general pardon was dated at Westminster, June 26, 1544, and delivered June 30, to "John Heywode, late of London, alias of Northmymmes,¹ Herts." (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 504). His recantation for denying the king's supremacy was made public at Paul's Cross at the time of the sermon there on Sunday, July 6, 1544 (*ibid.*, p. 532; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1846, V, 528-29).

¹ This reference to North Mimms together with the offender's repeated association with the More group makes it practically certain that it was the dramatist who got into trouble about the Act of Supremacy. Heywood is said to have made More's acquaintance at Gobions, the latter's seat at North Mimms (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 331). Here, according to a passage in Peacham's *Thalias Banquet* (1620), More wrote his *Utopia* and Heywood his *Epigrams* (Warton, ed. 1871, IV, 80, note). In his *Compleat Gentleman* Peacham further says that in his birthplace More and Heywood both dwelt and "had fair possessions" (ed. of Gordon, p. 95). There is no doubt about More's owning property at North Mimms. A "messuage called Gobeans [apparently owned by Sir Thomas' father before him] in Northmymmes, Herts." is mentioned in 1540 among the possessions of Thos. More, attainted (*L. and P.*, XVI, 350). In June, 1546, it was in the king's hands by the death of Alice More (*ibid.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 575). After the death of Jno. More his widow "received from Queen Mary a regrant of his grandfather's confiscated property at North Mimms" (*D.N.B.*, XXXVIII, 447). In his will (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 238) Wm. Rastell gives to Ellis Heywood the possessions at North Mimms which possibly had been acquired through the marriage of William's father to Sir Thomas More's sister. Surely there is no reason to reject Peacham's statement that Heywood also owned fair possessions there.

The pardon furthermore raises the interesting question of the dramatist's birthplace. Reed, Fairholt (*Percy Soc.*, XX, p. 1), and Swoboda (*Heywood als Dramatiker*, pp. 11-13) decide in favor of North Mimms; John Pits (cf. *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 237) and Hazlitt (*Dodsley's Old Plays*, I, 325) credit London with being the place of his birth; Ward (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 331) and Chambers (*Med. Stage*, II, 443) do not decide between the two places; and Pollard (*Rep. Eng. Comedies*, p. 3) affirms that the tradition of Heywood's birth at North Mimms apparently arose from his owning land there.

The pardon certainly shows that Heywood resided at North Mimms at one time or another. If he resided in London from January, 1515, when he is first mentioned in connection with the court, until the date of his pardon, then his youthful residence at North Mimms would fit in with the tradition that he first met Sir Thomas there and with the assertions of Stapleton and Pits that he had been for many years familiar with More. Bang (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 246) is inclined to think that Heywood received his property at North Mimms through his marriage with Eliza Rastell. This is possible, but it is perhaps more probable that he inherited it from his own relatives. It is perhaps worth while to note in this connection that Heywood's father-in-law, John Rastell, at least died poor, leaving to his son William only 40s. and to John Rastell, Jr., a small annuity (Duff, *Westminster and London Printers*, p. 185).

How narrowly he had escaped is brought out by Wriothesley (*Chronicle*, I, 148): "The 6 day of July Hayward recanted his treason at Pawles Crosse, which had bene afore condempned to death and brought to be layd on the hardell for denyinge the supremacye of the Kinges Majestie against the Bishop of Rome." Just why Heywood was pardoned at the last minute does not appear.¹ He does not seem to have been further disturbed during Henry's reign. On December 25, 1545, he was paid his quarter wages of 50s. as "player on the virginals" (*L. and P.*, XX, Pt. 2, p. 515); and a John Heywood, perhaps the dramatist, was holding crown land in tenure during the years 1545 and 1546.²

The experiences of Heywood and his group during the reign of Edward VI are not altogether clear. Under February 7, 1550, Wriothesley wrote in his *Chronicle* (*Camden Soc.*, II, 34) that the sheriffs of London had seized upon the houses of the "ranke Papistes" Anthony Bonvise, Doctor Clement, physician, Balthasar, surgeon, and Rastell "which maryed Doctor Clementes daughter . . . because they had fled the realme and conveyed theyr cheife substance and goodes out of the realme." In some cases more exact information is possible with respect to the process referred to above.

Balthasar is of course Guersie who has been implicated in the Kentish troubles of 1543. I have not learned the exact date of his departure from England or the cause of his flight. In all probability

¹ As was said above, Morice states that the pardon of the offenders was secured through great exertion of their friends. A passage in Sir John Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, p. 41, is of interest here. "What think you," he asks, "by Haywood, that escaped hanging with his mirth? The king, graciously and (as I think) truly persuaded that a man that wrote so pleasant and harmless verses, could not have any harmful conceit against his proceedings; and so by the honest motion of a gentleman of his chamber, saved him from the jerk of the six stringed whip." Ward (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 331) follows Oldys and Fairholt in referring Harington's allusion to an incident during the reign of Edward VI. This, however, is wrong, since Harington is obviously speaking of Henry VIII. Ward further remarks that Harington has confused the Six Articles ("six stringed whip") and the Act of Supremacy. This may be the case, yet it is possible that he really meant what he said. Heywood and his fellows got into trouble indirectly at least as a result of the Six Articles. How Harington might have been misled by Heywood's experiences in 1544 is perhaps illustrated by a more modern blunder. Forgetting that Heywood recanted in 1544 and that Edward VI died in 1553, the writer of the unsigned article on Heywood in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* has the startling assertion: "Under Edward VI, he [Heywood] was accused of denying the King's supremacy over the church, and had to make a public recantation in 1554."

² *L. and P.*, XX, Pt. I, p. 661; Pt. 2, p. 545; XXI, Pt. 1, p. 243.

he left about the same time that Rastell and Clement fled and for very similar reasons.¹

On September 25, 1549, Anthony Bonvise "craftely and rebelliously took flight to Antwerp² with all his family," his brother Benedict having departed for the same place without license on April 5, 1548.³ Perhaps foreseeing trouble, Anthony by an indenture dated July 4, 1547, had granted Crosby Hall and other property to "Richard Heywood, and John Webbs, gentlemen, and their heirs to the use of the said Anthony for his life." After Bonvise's decease the property was to pass "to the use of Peter Gowte . . . and his heirs; for default, to the use of Anthony Roper, son of Wm. Roper, Esq. and his heirs."⁴ The reason for his flight and an account of his life abroad are given by Sander:⁵

Seeing even the traces of the Catholic faith being removed from England, he went to live in the University of Louvain, not indeed to carry on his business as a merchant of this world, but to attend to the business of the next. . . . There he gathered around him and comforted those who were in exile for the faith, especially the physician John Clement and his wife, John Storey . . . Nicholas Harpsfield . . . John Boxall . . . and the lawyer, Wm. Rastell, with his wife, who died in Louvain.

Perhaps on account of his high position, his former intimacy with More,⁶ his close friendship with Pole,⁷ and his activity regarding the much-debated question of the Sacrament, Dr. Clement seems to have been especially distasteful to the Reformers. In a reply, May 18, 1560, to a letter of Cole, Jewel accused Clement of tearing out and casting into the fire certain leaves of Theodoret (*Works, Parker*

¹ Balthasar returned to England during the reign of Mary, and on December 22, 1556, he was admitted a fellow to the College of Physicians. He was buried on January 10, 1558 (Munk, I, 57).

² *Inquisitiones post Mortem for London*, ed. Fry, I, 115.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, I, 183. This passage is of interest in showing the intimate connection between Bonvise and the More circle. Was the Richard Heywood mentioned above a brother of the dramatist? For other references to him, see *L. and P.*, XX, Pt. I, p. 309; XXI, Pt. I, p. 648.

⁵ *The Anglican Schism*, pp. 201-2. Bonvise does not seem to have returned to England during the reign of Mary (cf. *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 67; *ibid.*, *Foreign*, 1553-58, pp. 197, 212, 367). He died at Louvain on December 7, 1558.

⁶ Gillow, *Bibliog. Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, I, 499.

⁷ Cf. especially the letter written by Pole to Genova in behalf of Thos. Clement, an English law student and the son of Pole's "old and very dear friend" (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1555-56, pp. 393-94).

Soc., I, 52); and in his *Apology* (printed 1562) he explains that this event took place "but few years past" in the presence of "certain honest men" including Peter Martyr. The destroyed leaves, we are informed, taught that "the nature of bread in the communion is not changed or abolished, or brought to nothing" (*ibid.*, IV, 785-86). This accusation probably began in 1549 when Martyr was causing such a stir at Oxford about the Sacrament; and it may have had something to do with Clement's flight. Harding's reply to the *Apology* (printed 1564) contains a vehement denial of any such irreverence to old texts by the doctor and former teacher of Greek, a denial, however, which does not seem to have satisfied Jewel.¹ Clement probably left² England in December, 1549, at the same time when his son-in-law fled with "his whole family" to Louvain "contrary to the allegiance which he owed the King, deceitfully and rebelliously."³

Adequate motives for the flight of Clement and Rastell in the fall of 1549 are not easily found. It is not at all probable that either had been implicated in the revolts of the previous summer, or had violated the Act of Uniformity, which had become operative at Pentecost.⁴ The best explanation appears to be that, seeing with the fall of Somerset in October and the reconsideration of religious matters by the parliament which met on November 4, a beginning of the end of the short era of comparative religious freedom⁵ which England had enjoyed under Edward VI, they were unwilling to take any chances with the new order of things owing to their former activities in behalf of Catholicism, and therefore voluntarily left

¹ *Works of Jewel*, IV, 786.

² Together with Pole, Dr. Story, Guersie and a few others he was exempted from the general pardon granted by Edward VI in 1552 (Gillow, *Bibliog., Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, I, 499). On August 28, 1552, an inventory was taken of his goods remaining in the house of Marshfoot in the parish of Horn-church, Essex (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 44). He returned to England in March, 1554, and practised his profession in Essex, but after Elizabeth's accession he again went abroad, where he died, July 1, 1572 (Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxienses*, I, 289). In a memorandum drawn up in 1576 by the College of Physicians, "Dr. Clement at Louvain" is instanced among the "electors who have fled for religion out of the realme [but who] have been kept in their offices . . . until they died" (Birt, *Eliz. Religious Settlement*, p. 445).

³ An inquisition of February 27, 1551, states that Rastell fled on December 21, 1549, whereas another one gives December 1 as the date of the flight (*Inquisitiones post Mortem*, I, 109, 116).

⁴ Dodd, *Church History* (ed. Tierney), II, 31-32, and appendix.

⁵ A. F. Pollard, *Eng. under Somerset*, chap. IV; cf. also his *Life of Cranmer*, pp. 258-60.

their native land¹ without the royal permission. This, however, would hardly explain Bonvise's leaving in September.

Having profited, perhaps, by his experience under Henry VIII, Heywood seems to have avoided trouble during the reign of Edward VI, a period marked by comparatively little religious persecution. According to Puttenham, the epigrammatist was "well benefited" by Edward for the "myrth and quicknesse of his conceits"; and the same author further states that he was a great favorite of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland (*Percy Soc.*, XX, p. vii). The good will of Dudley would surely account for the lack of any trouble at this period, though it is just a little odd that one who showed favor to Knox and other reformers should have been especially gracious to the Catholic Heywood. But Northumberland, it must be remembered, was a reformer for political reasons; and at the time of his execution in August, 1553, he recanted, avowing himself a strong Catholic. If Puttenham's statement is to be accepted at all, then we must at least suppose that any intimacy between Heywood and Dudley ceased at the accession of Mary, certainly before the unfortunate events that resulted in the death of the duke and Lady Jane Grey. Possibly the famous epigram *Of Rebellion*, in which Heywood deftly vows his loyalty to the queen under all circumstances,

¹ Rastell returned to England during Mary's reign. In October, 1555, he was made sergeant at law (Foss, *Judges of Eng.*, V, 535) and on October 25, 1558, he was appointed to the Queen's Bench (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 107). On the day after Elizabeth's accession all judges were reappointed regardless of their religion (Foss, V, 536). On February 23, 1559, Rastell was appointed by the queen a "Justice Itinerant and of the assizes in the Countie of Durham and Sadberg" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 122). He incurred the enmity of Pilkington (Pilkington, *Works, Parker Soc.*, p. 628); and on May 3, 1560, Bishop Young wrote rather warmly to Parker that "Mr. Serjeant Rastell" and Mr. Warner [Jno. Warner, Warden of All Soul's] had exerted themselves extravagantly in behalf of "Thos. Clement whose prebend Mr. Gwynne now has" (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 114). For reasons which it is unnecessary to give here I believe that this Thos. Clement was Rastell's brother-in-law. On January 3, 1562 (not 1563 as is sometimes said), Rastell left England without the royal license, and his property, including his library, was forfeited to the crown (Douthwaite, *Gray's Inn*, p. 172; *Law Magazine*, February, 1844 [XXXI], pp. 55-60). It is generally supposed that he fled on account of his religion, but this is by no means certain. The Inns of Court and lawyers in general were not seriously molested during the first years of Elizabeth's reign; and a passage in a letter of January 17, 1562, written by Bishop Quadra to the Spanish king, is of interest in this connection. "The cause of his going," writes the bishop, "although it is publicly said to be on account of religion, I am told by some of his friends is to avoid signing an opinion which seven or eight lawyers are to give on the succession to the crown." The object of the plan, explains Quadra, was to exclude the Scots Queen and Lady Margaret and to secure ultimately a monarch sufficiently "heretic" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558-67, p. 224). Rastell died in Louvain, August 27, 1565.

was the result of his former connection with Northumberland. Whatever may have been his position, it is certain that the dramatist remained undisturbed in England under Edward. Between October 1 of the second year of his reign and October 1 of the ensuing year four quarter wages of 50s. to "John Haiwood plaier on the Virginalles" are recorded in the King's Book of Receipts and Payments;¹ and in the early part of 1553 a play "of children" was "set out by Heywood" at court.²

It is unnecessary to rehearse the prosperity of Heywood under Mary. Rather full accounts are to be found in Ward's article in *D.N.B.* and in Swaboda's *Heywood als Dramatiker*. A question more in point is his relation to the religious settlement under Elizabeth.

Perhaps misled by Anthony à Wood's vague assertion³ that Heywood after Mary's death "left the nation for religion sake," scholars⁴ have generally assumed that this took place immediately after the queen's decease on November 17, 1558. There is every reason to believe, however, that Heywood remained in England for a considerable time after the accession of Elizabeth. In Machyn's *Diary* (*Camden Soc.*, p. 206) the following passage appears:

The V day of August [i.e., 1559] the Queen(s) grace removyd from Eltham unto Non-shyche, my lord of Arundell(s), and ther her grace had a gret cher evere nyght, and bankettes; but the Sondag at nyght my lord of Arundell(s) house mad her a gret bankett at ys cost, the wyche Kyng Henry the VIII byldyd, as ever was sene, for soper, bankett, and maske, with drumes and flutes, and all the mysyke that cold be, tyll mydnyght; and as for chere has nott bene sene nor hard. [On Monday] the Queen('s) grace stod at her standyng [in the further park] and ther was corse after; and at nyght the Queen . . . and a play of the chylderyn of Powlls and ther master Se[bastian], master Phelypes, and master Haywood, and after a grett bankett, etc.

It is curious that Strype, who consulted MS Cotton Vitellius, F. V. "when it was perfect," should have omitted "Master Haywood" in virtually transcribing the passage above.⁵ All things

¹ *Trevelyan Papers* (*Camden Soc.*), Pt. 2, pp. 18, 25, 31, 33.

² *Loseley Manuscripts*, ed. Kempe, pp. 89-90.

³ *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 349.

⁴ Ward, however, says at the accession of Elizabeth "or later" (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 332).

⁵ *Annals of the Reformation* (ed. 1824), I, Pt. 1, p. 290. For examples of Strype's carelessness see Nichols' preface to Machyn's *Diary*, p. vi. Strype, and not Machyn, has been followed with respect to this passage. Cf. for example, Nichols, *Prog. of Eliz.* (ed. 1823), I, 74; Collier, *Drama*,² I, 169.

considered, however, there seems to be no reason for doubting the authenticity of this reference to "Master Haywood's" presence at Nonsuch in August, 1559, or for believing that the person referred to here is any other than the one who at various times before this date is associated with the entertainments by Children at Court. And why assume that Heywood left England for "conscience sake" immediately after Elizabeth's accession? There was virtual religious freedom at least until June 24, 1559, when the Act of Uniformity became operative (Birt, pp. 23-26); and as late as November 16 of the same year the Reformation was decidedly uncertain (*ibid.*, pp. 174-75). True, the Act of Supremacy had caused some agitation before this date, but comparatively few people seem to have fled.¹ If he was connected with St. Paul's, as seems probable, then Heywood must have experienced the Southern Visitation which began on August 11, 1559, when the Visitors sat in the chapter house of St. Paul's (Machyn, p. 206). By *experienced* I do not mean that he conformed. He could have been absent, as some were, or have refused subscription to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity without causing himself serious difficulty for the time being at least. That this visitation, as indeed that of July 1562, was mild and accompanied by few deprivations is abundantly proved.² As one example of the comparative leniency of the first years of Elizabeth's reign, the experiences of Sebastian Westcote may be cited at this point. His case was perhaps not exactly a typical one, yet on account of the association of his name³ with that of Heywood by Machyn and his connection with dramatic history, one is perhaps justified in inserting here a brief account of his adventures with the reformation under Elizabeth.

At the St. Paul's Visitation of August, 1559, Westcote refused to comply with the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy;⁴ and on

¹ On May 10, 1559, Bishop of Aquila after stating that the Oath of Supremacy was to be administered at once to the English bishops, who are ordered not to leave London, continues: "An infinite number of people would leave the country if they would let them, which they will not, and I am not sure whether they are wise in this" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558-67, p. 69).

² Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, pp. 117, 131; Birt, *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*, p. 171; Frere, *Eng. Church under Eliz. and Jas.*

³ Machyn's "Master Phelypes" is probably Robert Phillips, the famous singer (Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, I, 450), who is mentioned in a list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel supposedly drawn up in the reign of Edward VI (Stopes, *Wm. Hunnis and the Children of the Chapel*, pp. 21, 23).

⁴ Strype, I, 251; Birt, p. 171.

November 3 of the same year he was given until the next sitting to make his decision.¹ In the meantime he was, according to the *Novum Repetorium*,² appointed, in 1560, sub-dean or first minor canon of St. Paul's. Apparently nothing was done to him at the Visitation of 1561; and in August, 1563, Grindal in a letter to Dudley states that Westcote had been deprived (in July) only after every effort had been exerted to induce him to subscribe.³ "He was," says Birt (pp. 441-42), "Master of the Choir of St. Paul's, hence his influence among the choristers had to be counteracted or removed; he remained in London, doubtless under the protection of Lord Dudley, and in 1577 was returned as living under the shadow of his old home in 'St. Gregory's by Paul's,' and is still called Master of the Children of Paul's Church, being valued at 100 pounds in goods." In a list of "Prisoners in the Marshalsea," Westcote is described among "Papists at Liberty" as "sent in by commandment from the honorable lords of the Consell for papistry 21 December Anno 1577 and was discharged by my sayd lords of the counsell the 19 daye of Marche Anno 1577 [1578]." His deprivation was obviously confined to his sub-deanship, since he is regularly the payee for the Paul's Children at Court performances from Christmas 1561/2 to Christmas, 1581.⁵

Before returning to Heywood, it will be well to note a few points in connection with his sons, Ellis and Jasper, and their movements during the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (XXVI, 329) states that after being admitted B.C.L. at Oxford, July 18, 1552, Ellis Heywood was opposed to the Reformers, and hence withdrew to the Continent where he was received into the family of Cardinal Pole, becoming later a secretary to him. According to the same work, Ellis does not seem to have accompanied the cardinal to England during Mary's reign. I am not sure about all this, for whereas Pole did not arrive in London until November 24, 1554, an Ellizeus Heywood, A.M., was admitted

¹ Strype, *Annals*, I, 253.

² Ed. of Hennessy, p. 61.

³ *Remains of Grindal*, Parker Soc., p. 262.

⁴ *Catholic Record Soc.*, *Miscellanea*, I, 70.

⁵ E. K. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Review*, II, 4-9; Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, pp. 15-19; Stopes, *William Hunnis*, pp. 319-21.

prebend at Eccleshall, Lichfield, on June 22 of the same year (Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, I, 601). He was perhaps not in England at the time of Elizabeth's accession. In 1556, he was residing in Florence where his *Il Moro d'Heliseo* was published in that year; and in 1559 he was probably a student in Paris, since on August 1, 1559, Throckmorton wrote¹ to Cecil: "Here are arrived two gentlemen from Italy, Mr. Phitzwilliam and Mr. Haywood, who remain as students at Paris." He entered the Society of Jesus in 1566;² and he had returned to his native land before 1573 when he came from England to Anvers.³

In discussing the 1559 Visitation at Oxford, C. G. Robertson⁴ writes that Jasper Heywood, a Fellow of All Soul's, probably had to leave the college in June on account of his religion. This is the accepted view. It is not at all likely, however, that Jasper was forced to leave at that time. In the first place, he is not mentioned along with the two Fellows who were expelled in June, 1559, for non-compliance. Oxford was especially noted for its strong Catholic sympathies; and the authorities recognizing this fact had the visitors of 1559 make a "mild and gentle, not rigorous, reformation" (Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, pp. 131, 174-75). Nor was it until 1564 that real pressure was brought to bear by the Reformers upon Oxford.⁵ Again, if Jasper had been expelled in 1559, then it is rather strange that he should have dedicated his *Thyestes* (Pub. 1560) to Sir John Mason who on June 20, 1559, was elected chancellor of Oxford and who was one of the Visitors for that year (Birt, p. 272). Nor should we expect to find the *Hercules Furens* (published in 1561) dedicated to Wm. Herbert, ardent favorer of a zealous Protestant revival and member of the committee in 1558 to discuss ecclesiastical conditions with the queen. All things considered, we can feel rather sure that Heywood's leaving Oxford was not the result of compulsion. In 1561 he was admitted into Gray's Inn,⁶ and deciding to become a priest, he left England—probably with his uncle, Wm. Rastell,

¹ Cal. State Papers, Foreign, 1558-59, pp. 434, 436.

² H. Foley, *Records of the Eng. Province of the Soc. of Jesus*, I, 388.

³ Eng. Stud., XXXVIII, 236.

⁴ Hist. of All Soul's College, p. 67.

⁵ Birt, pp. 278, 507, etc.; Frere, *Eng. Church under Eliz. and Jas.*, pp. 65-66.

⁶ Joseph Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 29.

on February 3, 1562. Having been ordained abroad,¹ he was on May 21, 1562, admitted to the Society of Jesus at Rome.²

It would not be surprising to find that John Heywood remained in England as long as his son and brother-in-law. And there is some slight evidence that he remained as long, even longer. In 1562 Thomas Powell issued the *Epigrams* with a "newly added syxt hundred" "newly invented and made by John Heywood." No. 62 of these reads

Thanks to God and good people Powles goeth up well:
Powles goeth up? but when goeth polling down; that tell.

This seems to be an allusion to the rebuilding by public subscription of St. Paul's, struck by lightning and partially destroyed on June 4, 1561 (Machyn, p. 259). The work of rebuilding was considered a national duty. Large contributions were offered for the work, and within a month after the fire all four of the great roofs were covered with a slight roof of wood and lead to keep out the rain. On November 1, 1561, the lord mayor, aldermen, and all the crafts of the city went in state to hear the sermon at the famous cathedral; and before the end of the year "all the long roofes were rayased of new and strong timber."³ If the lines above are a reference to the rebuilding of St. Paul's, then it is hardly such as would have been made by a fugitive in Malines.

Less convincing is another reference. Strype⁴ after stating that he omits the "names of the lesser Canons, and of the Vicars choral" who were present at the Visitation of St. Paul's in April, 1561, goes on to say that the Visitors adjourned until the following May 29, "at which time also appeared Whitbroke, Lake, Haywood, and Pen, Minor Canons," arraigned about their marriage. After a consideration as to what should be done with them,

it was found by ordinances of the Dean formerly made, that married Canons should not be bound to be present at the common table in their college of petty canons, but should be permitted to be by themselves with their families,

¹ Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, p. 268.

² For his return to England in 1581 and his experiences there, see *D.N.B.*, XXVI: Law, *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Eliz.*; *Catholic Record Soc.*, *Miscellaneous*, I, 111-12; *ibid.*, IV and V; Foley, *Records of Soc. of Jesus*, I, 388.

³ Machyn, pp. 260, 262; Hayward, *Annals of Eliz.*, p. 89.

⁴ *Life of Grindal*, pp. 88-89.

and to have convenient victuals; and that beside in all dividends and common profits, the same should be had of the married as of others. And of these orders the Bishop approved.

Who is this "Heywood," married minor canon? The nearest approach to the name given in the *Novum repetorium* is "John Hayward," who was appointed junior cardinal or third minor canon in 1566 (ed. of Hennessy, p. 63). And who is John Hayward?

At least the close relationship between minor canons and the choir¹ and the various suggestions of Heywood's association with the Paul's Children rather tend to support the assumption that in 1561 he was actually a minor canon of St. Paul's. If it be urged that minor canons *ought* to be priests, then it may be said that there is nothing conclusive against believing that Heywood had taken orders by 1561. The careers of his sons and the expression "votre vénéré père" used in describing his admission into the Jesuit College at Anvers in 1576² are at least not opposed to any such supposition. One of the "Jests" as given by Warton³-Hazlitt is as follows: "When Queene Mary tolde Heywoode that the priestes must forego their wives, he merrily answered: Then your grace must allow them lemmans, for the clergie cannot live without sauce." Possibly his having taken holy orders would explain more adequately why the queen should be talking to him about such matters. On the other hand, it is not easy to reconcile John Heywood, married priest, with the John Heywood, who is said to have been a sort of official jester to the Catholic Mary. And owing to the prominence of the name "Heywood" in ecclesiastical affairs of the time,⁴ one is surely not justified in stressing Strype's vague reference.

My remoteness from documents that would perhaps settle the matter is my excuse for other conjectures. Heywood, John Pits

¹ See *Novum repetorium*, ed. of Hennessy, p. 59; Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 134-35.

² *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.

³ *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, IV, 80, note 3.

⁴ Jno. Bridgewater, says Bang (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 235), has in the index of persons to his *Concertatio Ecclesiae* a John Heywood "Sacerdos" in addition to "Joan Heluodus N[obilis] obtit E[xul]." Is Bridgewater's "Sacerdos" the John Hayward who aided Parsons? (see above). A "Thos. Haywoode," monk at St. Osith's, Essex, was pensioned in 1540 (*L. and P.*, XV, 542); a "Thos. Helwood" officiated at the wedding of Wm. Bel and Dorothy Daniel, May 7, 1582 (*Catholic Record Soc., Miscellanea*, I, 119); a "Stephen Heywood" was granted a pension in 1534 on the dissolution of Byndon Abbey (*L. and P.*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 519); in 1574 Oliver and Thos. Helwood, priests, were apprehended at Mass (Holinshed, *Chronicle*, IV, 324-25).

seems to say, "extat Londini anno Domini 1576." And Bang¹ asks: "Wohl nur druckfehler für 1556?" The date 1576 is impossible; yet I am inclined to ask whether Bang's 1556 is only a *druckfehler* for 1565 or 1566 or 1567. At least I am not convinced that Heywood left England before 1567. *The Recantation of Famous Pasquin of Rome*, published in 1570 by John Daye,² contains a reference to Heywood and other "Louanistes" who "ran away." In 1573 he was living at Malines,³ "venu d'Angleterre, persécuté pour la foi"; hence in all probability he was the same person who on April 18, 1575, wrote to Burghley from that place "'where I have been despoiled by Spanish and German soldiers of the little I had', and thanking him for ordering the arrears from his land at Romney to be paid to him, and speaking of himself as an old man of seventy-eight."⁴ Burghley's good will, implied in this letter, would help to explain Heywood's prolonged stay in England. He was, an octogenarian, admitted in 1576 to the Jesuit College at Anvers,⁵ and in a list made out on January 29, 1576/7, "of all such as are certified into the Exchequer to be fugitives over the seas, contrary to the stat. 13 Eliz.," John Heywood holding land in Kent is included as being resident at Louvain.⁶ This document used by Collier is, as Birt has pointed out,⁷ evidently a copy of a former one of December 26, 1576. The statute referred to is the act known as "13 Eliz. Cap. 3" passed in 1570 against fugitive or "fleeing" Papists and "depriving them of their lands and possessions, and nullifying any transfer they may have made thereof in order to escape any such confiscation." Since the property thus passing into the crown's possession became ready incentive to Elizabethan graft, lists of fugitives were eagerly sought after. If Heywood fled early, it is, therefore, probable that his name occurs in some list anterior to that of December 26, 1576. Perhaps he left England as a result of the active hostility to Catholics which accompanied the rebellion of 1569 and which perhaps found fullest expression in the stringent parliamentary acts (13 Eliz. Cap.

¹ *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 238.

² Corsor, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Pt. I, p. 83.

³ *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, XXVI, 332.

⁵ *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.

⁶ Collier, *Bibliog. Catalogue*, I, 39.

⁷ *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*, p. 545.

2 and 3) of 1570. At any rate there is no especial reason for believing that during the first years of Elizabeth's reign John Heywood who apparently had twice taken the Oath of Supremacy in Henry VIII's time and who had prosperously survived the reign of Edward VI should have been "persécuté pour la foi."

So much for conjecture. The whole question, I believe, can be settled by a study of the unpublished lists of Papists which are preserved in the Public Record Office and which Birt has so ably used in his book on the religious settlement under Elizabeth. From such documents certain facts regarding the social position, property, and whereabouts of Heywood would perhaps be gleaned, together with other facts concerning various members of the Heywood circle.

NOTE.—After the preceding article was in type my attention was called to Professor C. W. Wallace's *Evolution of the English Drama*, which appeared some time after my paper was announced. Professor Wallace has found new facts regarding Heywood's appointment as server to his Majesty's chamber; and he has noted most of the references above to grants, etc., to "John Heywood," which he believes refer in all cases to the dramatist. For reasons already given I prefer to be somewhat more conservative.

This is not the place to discuss Professor Wallace's unconvincing assignment to Cornish of various plays usually credited to Heywood, but it may be said that Heywood's "uncompromising" Catholicism, necessary for such procedure, is surely questionable, as, I think, the preceding pages show. Professor Wallace writes (p. 83) that Heywood as a result of this "uncompromising Catholicism" left England immediately after Elizabeth's accession; and on page 84, in noting that Heywood is associated with Westcote and the Paul's Boys at the Hatfield House entertainment of 1552, he asserts positively that Heywood could not have been connected with Paul's. Yet, strange to say, he fails to discuss in this connection Heywood's association with the same man and boys at Nonsuch in August, 1559, as given in the Camden Society edition of Machyn's *Diary*. Nevertheless he cites (p. 105, note 4) Machyn's *Diary* in connection with this latter entertainment, while in his Table (p. 199) he refers the reader to the account of the entertainment as found in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, where the reference to Heywood is not found. If Professor Wallace has evidence to show that the allusion to "Master Heywode" is a later addition in the Camden Society edition of Machyn (cf. my discussion of this point above), then of course this circumstance will probably modify somewhat my views.

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BEN JONSON

NOTES ON *UNDERWOODS XXX* AND ON *THE NEW INN*

Underwoods XXX is an epistle written by Jonson to Sackville, Earl of Dorset, in acknowledgment apparently of money that the earl has sent him to relieve his necessities. Gifford tells us that it was the favorite poem of Horne Tooke, who knew it by heart and quoted it on all occasions. It is indeed an excellent piece of work, and Gifford rightly says that Horne Tooke's fondness for it "throws no discredit upon his judgment." No one, however, seems yet to have noticed that at least a third of the epistle is made up of passages taken from Seneca.

Lovell's discourse on "true valour" in the *New Inn* is directly connected with *Underwoods XXX* through the fact that certain important lines in it are almost identical with lines in the epistle. This fact was noted by Gifford, and Tennant, the latest editor of the *New Inn*, 1908, while taking note of the parallel, has endeavored (see pp. xlix ff.) to find the chief source for the discourse in Aristotle. Undoubtedly Jonson is in some measure indebted to that philosopher, but his debt to Seneca is much greater, and the discourse again is made up largely of direct quotations from his works; in one place Cicero is also laid under contribution.

Underwoods XXX, 1-4: If, Sackville, all that have the power to do
Great and good turns, as well could time them too,
And knew their how and where; we should have then
Less list of proud, hard, or ingrateful men.

De beneficiis I. i: beneficia nec dare scimus nec accipere. . . . Nec mirum est inter plurima maximaque vitia nullum esse frequentius quam ingrati animi. id evenire ex causis pluribus video: prima illa est, quod non eligimus dignos, quibus tribuamus . . . beneficia sine ullo delectu magis proicimus quam damus. . . . Multos experimur ingratos, plures facimus . . . nos illam [turbam ingratorum] augemus. . . .

5-6: For benefits are owed with the same mind
As they are done, and such returns they find.

De ben. I. i: reddit enim beneficium qui libenter debet. . . . Eodem animo beneficium debetur, quo datur.

- 7-12: You then, whose will not only, but desire
 To succour my necessities, took fire,
 Not at my prayers, but your sense; which laid
 The way to meet what others would upbraid,
 And in the act did so my blush prevent,
 As I did feel it done as soon as meant.

De ben. II. i: Optimum est antecedere desiderium cuiusque, proximum sequi.

II. ii: Molestum verbum est, onerosum, demisso voltu dicendum, rogo. huius facienda est gratia amico et cuicumque, quem amicum sis promerendo facturus, properet licet, sero beneficium dedit qui roganti dedit. Ideo divinanda cuiusque voluntas et, cum intellecta est, necessitate gravissima rogandi liberanda est: illud beneficium iucundum victurumque in animo scias, quod obviam venit.

- 13-14: You cannot doubt but I who freely know
 This good from you, as freely will it owe.

De ben. II. xxx: quoniam qui libenter beneficium accipit, reddidit.

"Libenter," i.e., "freely," is Seneca's customary adverb in speaking both of the action of giving and of that of receiving a benefit in the proper spirit.

- 15-22: And though my fortune humble me to take
 The smallest courtesies with thanks, I make
 Yet choice from whom I take them; and would shame
 To have such do me good I durst not name.
 They are the noblest benefits, and sink
 Deepest in man, of which when he doth think,
 The memory delights him more, from whom
 Than what, he hath received.

De ben. I. xv: Tunc iuvat accepisse beneficium et supinis quidem manibus, ubi illud ratio ad dignos perducit, non quo libet casus [cf. I. 30 below]. et consilii indigens impetus differt. quod ostentare libet et inscribere sibi. Beneficia tu vocas quorum auctorem fateri pudet? at illa quanto gratiora sunt quantoque in partem interiorem animi nunquam exitura descendunt, cum delectant cogitantem magis a quo quam quid acceperis?

II. xviii: Haec autem hoc primum censebit non ab omnibus accipiendum.

I. ix: Non quanta quaeque sint, sed a quali [dentur], prospiciendum.

- 22-32: Gifts stink from some,
 They are so long a coming, and so hard;
 Where any deed is forced, the grace is marred.
 Can I owe thanks for courtesies received
 Against his will that does them? that hath weaved
 Excuses or delays? or done them scant,
 That they have more oppressed me than my want?
 Or if he did it not to succour me,
 But by mere chance? for interest? or to free
 Himself of farther trouble, or the weight
 Of pressure, like one taken in a strait?

De ben. I. i: Quis nostrum contentus fuit aut leviter rogari aut semel? quis non, cum aliquid a se peti suspicatus est, frontem adduxit, voltum avertit, occupationes simulavit, longis sermonibus et de industria non invenientibus exitum occasionem petendi abustulit et variis artibus necessitates properantis elusit? In angusto vero compressus aut distulit, id est timide negavit, aut promisit, sed difficulter, sed subductis superciliis, sed malignis et vix exeuntibus verbis? Nemo autem libenter debet quod non accepit, sed expressit. gratus adversus eum esse quisquam potest, qui beneficium aut superbe abiecit aut iratus inpegit aut fatigatus, ut molestia caret, dedit? Errat, si quis sperat responsurum sibi, quem dilatione lassavit, expectatione torsit. . . . ne tarde quidem, quia, cum in omni officio magni aestimetur dantis voluntas, qui tarde facit, diu nolit.

The same topic is treated in I. vii, and at length in II. i.

For l. 28, cf. II. v:

Nihil aequae amarum quam diu pendere. aequiore quidam animo ferunt praecidi spem suam quam trahi. . . . Inde illae voces, quas ingenuus dolor exprimit: "*Fac, si quid facis*" et "*nihil est tanti: malo mihi iam neges.*" Ubi in taedium adductus animus incipit beneficium odisse, dum expectat, potest ob id gratus esse?

With l. 30 cf. casus under 15-22 above, and see:

I. xv: neque enim cordi esse cuiquam possunt forte ac temere data.

The point is treated at great length in VI. vii-ix. In VI. xii, Seneca answers in the negative the question, Si quis sua causa nobis profuit, eine debetur aliquid?

33: All this corrupts the thanks.

The phrase is taken from the "*gratiam corrumpimus*" of *De ben. I. i.*

- 33-34: less hath he won
 That puts it in his debt-book ere't be done.

The general sentiment is everywhere in Seneca, but Jonson seems to have particularly in mind *De ben.* I. ii:

nemo beneficia in calendario scribit, nec avarus exactor ad horam et diem adpellat . . . turpis feneratio est beneficium expensum ferre.

35-36: Or that doth sound a trumpet, and doth call
His grooms to witness.

De ben. II. xi: Non est dicendum quid tribuerimus. . . . Ne aliis quidem narrare debemus. qui dedit beneficium taceat, narret qui accepit . . . Quid opus est eloqui?

And for this sentiment and the pride which Jonson goes on to reprobate, see the last part of the same chapter:

Nihil aeque in beneficio vitandum est quam superbia. quid opus adrogantia vultus? quid tumore verborum? ipsa res te extollit. detrahenda est inanis iactatio: res loquentur nobis tacentibus. Non tantum ingratum, sed invisum est beneficium superbe datum.

37-38: In that proud manner, as a good so gained,
Must make me sad for what I have obtained.

De ben. II. xiii: O superbia magnae fortunae! o stultissimum malum! ut a te nihil accipere iuvat! ut omne beneficium in iniuriam convertis.

[42. For the expression "throw away" a benefit, cf. "proicimus" under 1-4 above.]

43 ff.: No more than he doth thank, that will receive
Nought but in corners, and is loth to leave
Least air or print, but flies it: such men would
Run from the conscience of it if they could.
As I have known some infants of the sword,
Well known, and practised borrowers on their word,
Give thanks by stealth, and whispering in the ear,
For what they straight would to the world forswear.

De ben. II. xxiii: Sunt quidam, qui nolunt nisi secreto accipere. testem beneficii et conscium vitant . . . ita accipienti adhibenda concio est: quod pudet debere, ne acceperis. Quidam furtive agunt gratias et in angulo et ad aurem: non est ista verecundia, sed infitiandi genus. ingratus est, qui remotis arbitris agit gratias. . . . Verentur palam ferre, ut sua potius virtute quam alieno adiutorio consecuti dicantur.

51-52: And speaking worst of those from whom they went
But then fist-filled, to put me off the scent.

De ben. II. xxiv: Alii pessime loquuntur de optime meritis. tutius est quosdam offendere quam demeruisse, argumentum enim nihil debentium odio quaerunt.

75-78: I not deny it, but to help the need
Of any is a great and generous deed;
Yea, of the ungrateful: and he forth must tell
Many a pound, and piece, will place one well.

De ben. I. ii: Beneficia in volgas cum largiri institueris,
Perdenda sunt multa, ut semel ponas bene.

103 ff.: Cannot a man be reckoned in the state
Of valour, but at this idolatrous rate?
I thought that fortitude had been a mean,
"Twixt fear and rashness; not a lust obscene,
Or appetite of offending, but a skill
Or science of discerning good and ill.
And you, sir, know it well, to whom I write,
That with these mixtures we put out her light;
Her ends are honesty and public good;
And where they want, she is not understood.

Of course, the doctrine of the mean is characteristically Aristotelian (cf. *Nic. Ethics*, tr. Welldon, II. vii: "In regard to feelings of fear and confidence, courage is a mean state. On the side of excess, he whose fearlessness is excessive has no name, as often happens, but he whose confidence is excessive is foolhardy, while he whose timidity is excessive and whose confidence is deficient is a coward." See also the long discussion of courage in III. x), though it is not only Aristotle, but also Seneca, that Jonson has here in mind. In fact, he is quoting from *Ep.* 85. 28:

Non dubitare, quid conveniret forti viro, si scirent, quid esset fortitudo. non est enim inconsulta temeritas nec periculorum amor nec formidabilium adpetitio; scientia est distinguendi, quid sit malum et quid non sit.

And when Jonson says that her ends are honesty and public good, he is simply in harmony with the whole spirit of Stoic ethics, according to which fortitude is one of the four cardinal virtues, and he who really possesses one of these possesses them all, since they are all but aspects of virtue herself. They are but different points of view from which she is regarded (see Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 1911, 293-94).

There are in fact two considerations which should have suggested to Tennant that Lovell's discussion of "true valour" in the *New Inn*, IV, iv, 38-222, did not arise mainly out of Aristotle. No doubt the doctrine of the mean at once directs our attention to Aristotle, and there is no doubt that Jonson had certain passages from the *Ethics* particularly in mind, as for example in the discussion of the valor of ignorance. But it is noteworthy that he allows "true valour" much less scope than Aristotle does, and more particularly is it important that his "true valour" is not Aristotle's "courage" (Aristotle means by courage practically what we all do when using the term), but once more the Stoic "fortitude." For that reason, as will be seen in what follows, Jonson feels that he can apply to "true valour" what Seneca says about *sapientia*. In short, the discourse on valour is made up, aside from the few lines having a direct source in Aristotle, of extracts from the *De ira* and the *De contumelia*. The point of contact between *Underwoods* XXX and the *New Inn* is found in the fact that ll. 105-8 of the former are practically repeated in the *New Inn*, IV, iv, 41-45; indeed the passage in the *New Inn* is even a somewhat closer translation of the corresponding Senecan passage:

A certaine meane 'twixt feare, and confidence:
No inconsiderate rashnesse, or vaine appetite
Of false encountring formidable things:
But a true science of distinguishing
What's good or evill.

And l. 110 finds its echo in *New Inn*, IV, iv, 113-14:

If any other
Respect be mixt, we quite put out her light,

wherein there is again an echo of Seneca *De ira* I. viii. 3:

aut quemadmodum ex confusione se liberabit, in qua peiorum mixtura
praevaluit?

New Inn, IV, iv, 56-57:

If they [unworthy things] be done to us, to suffer them,
Is valour too.

Compare *Ep.* 67. 10:

illic est fortitudo, cuius patientia et perpressio et tolerantia rami sunt.

From 66 on we begin to accumulate our parallels with the two other pieces of Seneca mentioned above.

66: Vertue is never ayded by a vice

De ira I. ix. 1: numquam enim virtus vitio adiuvanda est se contenta.

67-68: What need is there of anger, and of tumult?

When reason can doe the same things, or more?

De ira I. xi. 2: Deinde quid opus est ira, cum idem proficiat ratio?

69-70: O yes, 'tis profitable, and of use,

It makes us fierce, and fit to undertake.

De ira I. vii: Numquid, quamvis non sit naturalis ira, adsumenda est, quia utilis saepe fuit? Extollit animos et incitat. Nec quicquam sine illa, etc.

Seneca treats the point at length, and in I. ix, directly attacks Aristotle's argument, which was to the effect of ll. 69-70:

Ira: inquit Aristoteles, necessaria est. nec quicquam sine illa expugnari potest, nisi illa inplet animum et spiritum accendit.

71-77: Why so will drinke make us both bold, and rash.

Or phrensie if you will, do these make valiant?

They are poor helps, and vertue needs them not.

No man is valianter by being angry,

But he that could not valiant be without:

So, that it comes not in the aid of vertue,

But in the stead of it.

De ira I. xiii: "Utilis, inquit, ira est, qui pugnaciores facit." Isto modo et ebrietas: facit enim protervos et audaces . . . isto modo dic et phrenesin atque insaniam viribus necessariam . . . et mortis timor. . . . Sed ira, ebrietas, metus aliaque eiusmodi foeda et caduca inritamenta sunt nec virtutem instruunt. quae nihil vitiis eget, sed segnem alioqui animum et ignavum paulum adlevant. Nemo irascendo fit fortior, nisi qui fortis sine ira non fuisset. ita non in adiutorium virtutis venit, sed in vicem.

78-79: And 'tis an odious kind of remedy,

To owe our health to a disease.

De ira I. xii. 6: abominandum remedii genus est sanitatem debere morbo.

(This is again used at the end of *Underwoods* VIII, where Jonson applies it to jealousy.)

We come then to an interesting passage, ll. 106 ff.

The things true valour is exercis'd about,
Are poverty, restraint, captivity,
Banishment, losse of children, long disease:
The least is death.

Tennant remarks, p. lv.; "Aristotle enumerates somewhat the same list of evils: 'We fear, in fact, all things that are evils, such as infamy, poverty, disease, loss of friends, and death. But of all things terrible death is the worst: it is indeed, the extreme of evils, since to the dead man, as it seems, nothing further can befall, whether good or evil.'" And in a note, Tennant objects to the reading "least" in l. 109, saying: "To follow Aristotle's reasoning, we must read *last* for *least*: The *last* is death. It is true that Jonson does not follow Aristotle's line of argument on some minor points: but it seems easier to believe this a printer's error than to receive it as a philosophical utterance." On the contrary, it is precisely a philosophical utterance, but not Aristotle's. It is most excellent Stoical doctrine. We need not cite the legion passages that could be brought forward to show that, for the Stoics, death was no evil and in fact a refuge from evils. The following lines are closely related to the present passage.

De cont. x. 4: Alia sunt quae sapientem feriunt, etiam si non prevertunt, ut dolor corporis et debilitas aut amicorum liberorumque amissio at patriae bello flagrantis calamitas.

115-17: And as all knowledge, when it is remov'd
Or separate from justice, is cal'd craft,
Rather then wisdom; so a minde affecting,
Or undertaking dangers, for ambition,
Or any selfe pretext, not for the publike,
Deserves the name of daring, not of valour.

Here we must turn aside for the moment from Seneca to Cicero
De officiis i. 19:

Praeclarum igitur illud Platonis: "Non," inquit, "solum scientia, quae est remota ab iustitia, calliditas potius quam sapientia est appellanda, verum etiam animus paratus ad periculum, si sua cupiditate, non utilitate communi inpellitur, audaciae potius nomen habet quam fortitudinis."

135 ff.: He can assure himself against all rumour!
 Despairs of nothing! laughs at contumelies!
 As knowing himself, advanced in a height
 Where injury cannot reach him, nor aspersion
 Touch him with soyle!

De cont. x. 3—xi. 2: sapiens autem a nullo contemnitur. magnitudinem suam novit nullique tantum de se licere nuntiat sibi et omnis has, quas non miseras animorum, sed molestias dixerim, non vincit, sed ne sentit quidem haec vero minora ne sentit quidem nec adversus ea solita illa virtute utitur dura tolerandi, sed aut non adnotat aut digna risu putat habet pulcherrimam virtutem omnium [animi], magnanimitatem: illa quicquid eiusmodi est, transcurrit ut vanas species somniorum visusque nocturnos nihil habentis solidi atque veri. Simul illud cogitat, omnes inferiores esse, quam ut illis audacia sit tanto excelsiora despiciere.

148 ff.: The purpose of an injury 'tis to vex
 And trouble me: now, nothing can do that
 To him that's valiant.

De cont. v. 3: Iniuria propositum hic habet, aliquem malo adficere. Malo autem sapientia non relinquit locum. unum enim illi malum est turpitudine, etc.

150 ff.: He that is affected
 With the least injury, is lesse then it.
 It is but reasonable, to conclude
 That should be stronger, still, which hurts, then that
 Which is hurt. Now no wickednesse is stronger,
 Then what opposeth it.

De cont. viii. 2: Denique validius debet esse quod laedit eo quod laeditur. non est autem fortior nequitia virtute, etc.

155 ff.: Not Fortunes selfe,
 When she encounters vertue, but comes off
 Both lame and lesse.

De cont. viii. 3: Non habet ubi accipiat iniuriam. ab homine me tantum dicere putas? ne a fortuna quidem, quae totiens cum virtute congressa est, numquam par recessit.

159 f.: There may an injury
 Be meant me, I may choose, if I will take it.

De cont. vii. 3: Hoc loco intellegere nos oportet posse evenire, ut faciat aliquis iniuriam mihi et ego non accipiam.

And a few lines below:

si iniuriam accipi, necesse est factum esse. si est facta, non est necesse accepisse me.

161 ff.: But we are, now, come to that delicacie,
And tendernesse of sense, we thinke an insolence
Worse then an injury, beare words worse then deeds;
We are not so much troubled with the wrong,
As with the opinion of the wrong! like children,
We are made afraid with visors! Such poore sounds
As is the lie, or common words of spight.

De cont. v. 1-2: Dividamus, si tibi videtur, Serene, iniuriam a contumelia: prior illa natura gravior est, haec levior et tantum delicatis gravis, qua non laeduntur homines, sed offenduntur. tanta est tamen animorum dissolutio et vanitas, ut quidam nihil acerbius putent: sic invenies servum qui flagellis quam colaphis caedi malit et qui mortem ac verbera tolerabiliora credat quam contumeliosa verba. Ad tantas ineptias perventum est, ut non dolore tantum, sed doloris opinio vexemur, more puerorum, quibus metum uncutit umbra et personarum deformitas et depravata facies. lacrimas vero evocant nomina parum grata auribus et digitorum motus, etc.

166 ff.: Such poore sounds
As is the lie, or common words of spight,
Wise lawes thought never worthy a revenge.

De cont. x. 1: Est minor iniuria, quam queri magis quam exsequi possimus, quam leges quoque nulla dignam vindicta putaverunt.

169: ff. And 'tis the narrownesse of humane nature,
Our poverty, and beggery of spirit,
To take exceptions at these things. He laugh'd at me!
He broke a jest! a third took place of me!
How most ridiculous quarrels are all these?
Notes of a queasie, and sick stomach, labouring
With want of a true injury! the maine part
Of the wrong, is, our vice of taking it.
Lat. Or our interpreting it to be such.

De cont. x. 2-3: Hunc adfectum movet humilitas animi contrahentis se ob factum dictumque inhonorificum: "ille me hodie non admisit, cum alios admitteret. sermonem meum aut superbe aversatus est aut palam risit. et non in medio me lecto, sed in imo collocavit." et alias huius notae, quae quid vocem nisi querelas nausiantis animi? in quae fere delicati et felices incidunt. non vacat enim haec notare cui peiora instant. Nimio otio ingenia natura infirma at muliebria et inopia verae iniuriae lascivientia his commoventur, quarum pars maior constat vitio interpretantis.

178 ff.: If a woman or child
 Give me the lie, would I be angry? no,
 Not if I were i' my wits, sure I should thinke it
 No spice of a disgrace. No more in theirs,
 If I will thinke it, who are to be held
 In as contemptible a ranke, or worse.

De cont. xii. 1: Quem animum nos adversus pueros habemus, hunc sapiens adversus omnes.

And Seneca goes on to show that all insults are to be looked down upon just as are those of children. So in xiv:

Tanta quosdam dementia tenet, ut sibi contumeliam fieri putent posse a muliere.

Line 183 is a practically direct translation of a passage in Seneca that I well remember, but which I cannot at the moment find.

184 ff.: I am kept out a Masque, sometime thrust out,
 Made wait a day, two, three, for a great word,
 Which (when it comes forth) is all frown, and forehead.

Here of course, as we know from l. 184, Jonson is drawing on his own experiences; but the topic, and the kind of injuries spoken of, are evidently suggested by the very part of *De cont.* which Jonson translated in the preceding lines, for chaps. xiii, xiv are largely devoted by Seneca to a discussion of the injuries that great men and their vulgar attendants offer, frowns, delays, and the like.

200 f.: If light wrongs touch me not,
 No more shall great; if not a few, not many.

De cont. xv. 2: In quantumcumque ista vel numero vel magnitudine creverint, eiusdem naturae erunt: si non tangunt illum parva, ne maiora quidem. si non tangunt pauca, ne plura quidem.

202: ff. There's naught so sacred with us but may finde
 A sacrilegious person, yet the thing is
 No lesse divine, cause the prophane can reach it.
 He is shot-free, in battayle, is not hurt,
 Not he that is not hit. So he is valiant,
 That yeelds not unto wrongs; not he that scapes 'hem:
 They that do pull downe Churches, and deface
 The holiest, Altars, cannot hurt the God-head.

De cont. iii. 3-4: Nihil in rerum natura tam sacrum est, quod sacrilegium non inveniat, sed non ideo divina minus in sublimi sunt, si existunt qui magnitudinem multum ultra se positam non tacturi adpetant.

Involnerabile est non quod non feritur, sed quod non laeditur: ex hac tibi nota sapientem exhibebo. Numquid dubium est, quin certius robur sit quod non vincitur quam quod non lacessitur, cum dubiae sint vires inexpertae, at merito certissima firmitas habeatur, quae omnis incursus respuat?

And iv. 2: Ut coelestia humanas manus effugiunt et ab his qui templa dirrunt ac simulacra conflant, nihil divinitati nocetur, etc.

210 ff.: A calme wise man may shew as much true valour,
Amid'st these popular provocations,
As can an able Captaine shew security,
By his brave conduct, through an enemies country.

De cont. iv. 3: immo nescio an magis vires sapientia ostendat tranquillitatis inter lacessentia, sicut maximum argumentum est imperatoris armis virisque pollentis tuta securitas in hostium terra.

214 ff.: A wise man never goes the peoples way,
But as the Planets still move contrary
To the worlds motion; so doth he, to opinion.

De cont. xiv. 4: non ita qua populus, sed ut sidera contrarium mundo iter intendunt, ita hic adversus opinionem omnium vadit.

217 ff.: He will examine, if those accidents
(Which common fame calls injuries) happen to him
Deservedly, or no? come they deservedly,
They are no wrongs, then but his punishments:
If undeservedly, and he not guilty,
The doer of them, first, should blush, not he.

De cont. xvi. 3: "utrum merito mihi ista accidunt an immerito? si merito, non est contumelia, iudicium est. si immerito, illi qui iniusta facit, erubescendum est."

194 ff.: For me now to be angry with Hodge Huffle,
Or Burst (his broken charge) if he be sawey,
Or our owne type of Spanish valour, Tipto . . .
Were just to make my selfe, such a vaine Animal
As one of them.

Here Jonson is applying to the persons in his play what Seneca says, *De cont.* xiv. 1, about the folly of taking offense at the actions of ostiarii, nomenclatores, cubicularii, etc.

This analysis of the material Jonson has made use of shows that he took little from Aristotle except the definition of courage and a few ideas like that concerning "ignorant valour." Upon these he grafted a large amount of Stoic morality from the pages of Seneca, thus transforming courage into fortitude and saying of fortitude

what in the pages of Seneca is often said of wisdom. The result, as a whole, is perhaps not to the credit of Jonson as a philosophical thinker, for it evidently troubled him little that the two systems of philosophy were inconsistent. Ben Jonson, like his namesake Samuel, and like other great moralists, Pope and Dryden, for instance, was not intended by Nature to reason philosophically. Of the four he had perhaps the most powerful intellect, at least in some respects; but he very probably would have seen nothing wrong in Johnson's method of refuting Berkeley. In any case, he was doubtless little concerned with pagan metaphysics, since all that had of course been once for all overturned by Christianity; perhaps on that account he felt that he need trouble himself little with such discrepancies. Might we compare his eclecticism with that of Cicero? At any rate, it was the art of life that he was interested in, and there he found the classics incomparable teachers, particularly Seneca, who appealed with such force and directness to all the men of the Renaissance, for reasons that are too obvious to need explanation.

In the remaining fifty or sixty lines of *Underwoods* XXX, I have noted nothing that seems to have its immediate source in Seneca or Stoic morality. The theme that Jonson treats, namely, that virtue is to be attained by assiduous practice and constant watchfulness, cannot be identified with any particular system of ethics. Aristotle tells us that we become virtuous by forming virtuous habits. The Stoics did not accept that statement as a matter of theory, but in practice they recognized a road to virtue which was in essence that of Aristotle. And it is of course in accordance with Christian ethics to say that we are made better by training in habits of right feeling and right action (naturally we leave out of consideration all academic questions of "sufficient grace," "necessary grace," and the like).

Perhaps it should be remarked that ll. 124-25,

Men have been great, but never good by chance
Or on the sudden,

seem to owe something in expression to the common tag, "*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*," Juvenal ii, 83.

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THE PASSION GROUP IN TOWNELEY

In recent articles on the Towneley Mystery cycle I have endeavored to present the evidence which has led me to the following conclusions:¹

1. That the Towneley, York, and true-Coventry cycles were indebted to a common liturgical source for their plays upon the events connected with Christ's birth.

2. That the same is true of Towneley and York in the Resurrection plays. These plays have been lost from true-Coventry.

3. That there is in T evidence of the work of four editors, one writing in couplets; one, in quatrains; one, called the Y or York editor, making extensive borrowings from York; and one, called the W or Wakefield editor, writing, in a unique stanza and a highly original style, the leading comedy scenes in the whole series of English cycles.

4. That a study of the work of the first two of these four editors makes it possible to say that the Y editor made his additions to the cycle last, since all the groups but his contain couplets and all, including his, contain quatrains.

5. The fifth point concerns itself with the method and results of the work of the W editor. First, it is evident that generally he rewrote old plays, following their order of development faithfully. Second, it is clear that the superior interest of his plays led to the dropping of others near them in the cycle. For instance, there are two shepherd scenes by this author, but there is no birth scene, which should be the central scene of the Christmas group. In the same way the superior interest of those trial scenes which he has revised has led to the dropping of the other similar scenes from the Passion group.

I have stated these conclusions thus at length, because I desire in their light to summarize briefly a study I have made of the Passion and Old Testament groups in T; to comment upon a few questions of editorship in connection with certain plays of the Passion group; and then to state as clearly as I can a summary of my opinion as to the development of the whole cycle, in order to round out my study of its characteristics. I shall discuss the questions of editorship after summarizing the study of the Passion group and before taking up the Old Testament plays.

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, No. 3; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X, 4: XI, 2.

The conclusions at which I have arrived in regard to the Passion group as a whole are the result of a comparison of the plays in Y and T carried out as was the comparison of the Christmas and Resurrection groups. The effectiveness of that comparison, however, depended upon the fact that in both these groups I had liturgical plays with which to compare the cyclic plays, and that in the Christmas group I also had the plays of the true-Coventry cycle. In the Passion group, unfortunately, these checks are lacking, as no well-developed liturgical play on the Passion is preserved,¹ and the true-Coventry Passion group is lost. The evidence offered by the comparison of Y and T is, therefore, not so complete; but it is, of course, supported by the evidence of common liturgical origin in the Christmas and Resurrection groups. Without that support, indeed, it would be hardly substantiated.

The Passion group naturally divides into two sections, plays on Christ's ministry, and plays strictly upon the Passion. The comparison revealed that T plays 19 and 31, the ministry plays, showed so little similarity to the Y ministry plays that it was impossible to conclude they had a common source. On the other hand, the Passion plays proper, in spite of much editing and consequent dissimilarity in detail, showed enough of the original framework to indicate strongly that they had a common liturgical source. To these plays I especially direct attention. They include plays 20 through 24, and 32, in Towneley, and 26 through 36, in York.

It was found that T play 20, which includes the *Conspiracy to Take Jesus*, *The Last Supper*, *The Agony*, and *The Betrayal*, agrees in fundamental structure with the corresponding Y plays 26, 27, 28. It is this play which contains the most perplexing editorial problems in the group. T play 21, *The Trial before Caiaphas*, largely rewritten by the W editor, corresponds in the same way with Y play 29, except that it contains no scene of *Peter's Denial*. The next three scenes present in Y, *The Dream of Pilate's Wife*, *Jesus before Pilate*, *The Trial before Herod*, Y 30, 31, are not found in T, but the *Second Trial before Pilate*, Y 32, is T 22. This T play, besides containing direct borrowings from York, has been largely rewritten by the W editor, so that Y and T differ in the internal development of the scenes, but are upon

¹ Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 75, 423.

the same subjects and follow the same order in the development of incidents. The next Y play, 32, on *The Remorse of Judas* and *The Purchase of the Field of Blood* is not in T except for a fragment of the Judas scene inserted out of its natural order as T play 32. But the scenes on *The Judgment of Jesus, Christ Led to Calvary, The Crucifixion*, and *The Death and Burial* are in both cycles in the same order, though with considerable variation in detail, due here chiefly to editing in Y. Finally there is a T play on *The Talents*, or *The Casting of Lots for Christ's Garments*, not in Y, and clearly written by the W editor.

There is revealed in this summary much similarity in the general order of plays and episodes and considerable discrepancy. It is, however, possible to show how this discrepancy was doubtless due to editing and is in either case merely deviation from a common framework in the originals. For instance, Doctor W. A. Craigie has distinctly shown that the Passion play in York has been extensively edited by the insertion of episodes from the northern Gospel of Nicodemus;¹ and it is at the points where these episodes are inserted that we find Y in detail differing from T. On the other hand, it is quite possible to believe that the evident total omission of scenes from T arose because of the superior interest in the W editor's revisions, as was the case in the Christmas group. This cost the loss of the largely repetitive trial scenes which he did not revise; while his well-known habit of following in his revision the plan of the older play has retained for us the fundamental framework of the original scenes. Thus are explained the divergent paths by which these cycles have traveled from their liturgical base; and thus also are emphasized the numerous points at which, in spite of this divergence, they retain striking similarities in framework and development. The very presence, in spite of divergent editing, of such traces of fundamental similarity all through the group strengthens the force of any argument for the same liturgical source.

That the comparison, as far as it went, was conducted precisely as with the other groups, would indicate, it seems to me, a possibility that it points to a correct solution of the problems aroused by the similarities between the Passion scenes in the two cycles. And I also

¹ *An English Miscellany*, Article IX, pp. 53-61.

think that the neatness with which the application of this principle of similar liturgical source, along with the other points tabulated at the beginning of this article, solves the difficulties in connection with the various editing of T play 20, the first of the Passion group, is, in its small way, further evidence of the probability of a liturgical source. It is therefore worth while to examine the problems offered by this play.

Play 20 has been worked over by various editors, but nothing very definite has ever been discovered concerning their number and the extent of each man's work. There is considerable diversity of meter. The play contains stanzas by the W, the couplet, the quatrain, and the York editors. Davidson, in his analysis, traces what he thinks to be the work of six authors. Hohlfeld thinks the play to have been written in dependence upon the corresponding Y plays, 26, 27, 28.¹ It naturally falls into three divisions. (1) *The Conspiracy*; (2) *The Last Supper*; (3) *The Agony and Betrayal*. These can best be treated in turn.

The Conspiracy occupies the first forty-eight stanzas. It corresponds to Y play 26. Metrically it has two divisions: st. 1-6 in the W editor's favorite meter; st. 7-18 in the meter characteristic of many of the scenes in the York cycle. This meter Davidson calls the meter characteristic of the original or parent Y cycle, and he has proved by a series of complicated rhyme tests that these stanzas in T are a borrowing from an older version of the Y cycle than that now extant, which differed somewhat from the extant cycle.² The present discussion concerns the relation between these two sections. Was Y added to W, replacing a large part of the original scene, or is W simply a prologue added to Y after it was borrowed? This last would seem to be the most obvious explanation, if evidence of meter, etc., in other plays, as well as in this, did not indicate that the W stanzas found elsewhere were added to the cycle before the Y borrowings. In fact, this particular scene bears this out. Pilate, after calling for silence, tells who he is and how powerful he is. He has heard of a lazy rascal who is praised as a prophet. This man, Jesus, preaches that if he lives a year, he will destroy their law. Pilate is afraid,

¹ *Anglia*, XI, 296.

² Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, pp. 137-57.

but says he will protect their rights. Then he relates some of the things Jesus has preached and, at the end, advises that he be let alone, for if these things be true, his sect will spread and overcome every other. Plainly, Pilate is very well acquainted with Christ's preaching and deeds. Why, then, does Caiaphas appear in st. 7 and proceed to acquaint Pilate with all these charges? This continues until st. 26. The present introduction to the corresponding scene in Y would be more natural than this one. There Pilate vaunts in his usual way and ends by asking whether there are any who wish to make complaints; at which the priests present their charge against Christ. The W introduction was evidently never written for the scene as it stands, but for another scene along lines which managed the introduction of the priests somewhat differently. That this lost scene was otherwise along the same lines as the present one is proven by the prominence given to Pilate at the start, a characteristic, by the way, not present in the scriptural source. Again, the lost scene in the W stanza was in itself, probably, a revision of a still older scene along the same lines; as this has been found to be the favorite method of the W editor. The same thing is illustrated on the York side in this very quotation, of which the present Y play 26 is a rewriting and enlargement. Through this habit of rewriting along old lines, the original framework has been preserved as the basis of the present scenes. The quotation from Y extends throughout the Judas scene.

The Last Supper extends from the beginning of st. 49 through st. 70. It corresponds to Y play 27, a play, like the quotation from Y discussed above, from the Y parent-cycle. Its meter is couplets and quatrains. The couplets are forty-seven in number, all in st. 49.

In T the scene is somewhat confused. Both T and Y follow the chronology of John, chaps. 13 and 14; but T is very irregular as a result of editing. Y runs:

1. The foot-washing scene (John 13:1-20).
2. The scene of Judas and the sop (John 13:21-35).
3. Christ prophesies Peter's denial (John 13:36-38).
4. Exhortation by Christ. The exhortation is taken from Luke 22:28-38, but occurs chronologically according to John, as John 13:38, above, is followed by the exhortation of John 14:1-31.
5. Final stanza, including paraphrase of John 14:31, "Arise, let us go hence."

The references to John show that the scene follows the chronology there given. As a matter of fact it is not a quotation from John but a composite from all four accounts. This is illustrated by 4, where Luke's exhortation is given in John's chronology. The same observation applies to T, which is, in outline, as follows:

1. Lines 314-45: John and Peter go and prepare the Passover. Not in Y.
2. Lines 346-52: John announces the Passover. Jesus prepares to wash the disciples' feet.
3. Lines 353-73: The scene of Judas and the sop.
4. Lines 374-81: Peter's denial prophesied.
5. Lines 382-83: Paraphrase of John 14:31, "Arise, let us go hence." This evidently was once the end of the scene.
6. Lines 384-423: Foot-washing scene with exhortation. In the midst of this portion couplets end.
7. Lines 424-31: Prophecy of Peter's denial repeated.
8. Lines 432-87: Exhortation of John, chap. 14.
9. Lines 488-91: Paraphrase of John 14:31, "Arise, let us go hence."

A comparison of the two accounts reveals:

1. That the preparation of the Passover is omitted from Y. At this point in Y occurs the break between plays 26 and 27. When the break was made this episode was probably dropped.
2. That the foot-washing scene is only hinted at in T at the place where chronologically it should occur.
3. That the exhortation is missing between the first prophecy of Peter's denial and the first paraphrase of John 14:31.
4. That the rest of the foot-washing scene occurs after the first paraphrase.
5. That the prophecy of Peter's denial and the paraphrase are repeated.
6. That between them occurs a long exhortation founded on John rather than on Luke.
7. That through the foot-washing scene all is written in couplets, the rest in quatrains.

The couplet editor when he rewrote the older scene left out the exhortation, or else it was subsequently dropped. It is hardly possible that he altered the position of the foot-washing episode. The quotations from T and Y which follow occur in that scene. In Y they follow each other closely; but, while in the same order in T, there is between the first and the second of the quotations a break of thirty-two lines.

- Y, play 27, st. 4, line 40: Do vs haue watir here in hast.
 T, line 348: Yei, gyf vs water tyll oure hande,
 Y, line 43: Commes forthe with me, all in feere.
 T, line 380: Commys furth, both oone and othere;
 Y, lines 45-46: Settis youre feete fourth, late see,
 They schall be wasschen sone.
 T, lines 384-85: Sitt all downe, and here and sees,
 ffor I shall wesh youre feet on knees.
 Y, lines 51-52: Peter, bott if þou latte me wasshe þi feete
 þou getis no parte in blisse with me.
 T, lines 392-93: Bot I the wesh, thou mon mys
 parte with me in heuens blys.

Evidently the foot-washing scene was not all shifted. It is improbable that an editor, rewriting an older episode, would have shifted only part of it in this manner; nor would he have put it at the end of a scene whose real close was so clearly marked, as is this, by the biblical paraphrase noted. For a time, at least, the scene must have existed in the same order as in Y, except that the exhortation was lacking. The quatrain editor attempted to remedy that defect. Either the foot-washing scene was by some chance already shifted, or he shifted it in order to make it more easy to insert his exhortation. Probably the first was the case. At any rate, he repeats the closing words of the foot-washing scene and leads up through the prophecy of Peter's denial, found at the close of John, chap. 13, to the exhortation given in John, chap. 14, ending with the repeated paraphrase. Whether his work is an original use of quatrains, or an editing of a part of the York scene on the same subject cannot be told. If it is an editing, there are no phrases from York remaining. It is very evidently a piece of editorial patchwork intended to supply the missing exhortation.

The next scene, *The Agony*, st. 71-86, is largely rewritten in quatrains. It corresponds to the first part of Y play 28, which has been rewritten itself, as it is not in the meter of the parent cycle. This part of T may also be a rewriting of the older Y play, which has replaced the original T scene, as did st. 7-48. This is indicated by the single stanza in the meter of the Y parent-cycle, Y, st. 80-81, which occurs in the speech of Trinitas.

The Second Appearance of Judas follows, st. 87-103, for which

there is no biblical authority. It has already been shown that this is a W scene rewritten by the quatrain editor¹ and so is proof that W must have preceded Y.

The rest of the play, *The Betrayal*, is also in quatrains. That it was also borrowed from an older Y play than the present is indicated by the two Y stanzas which remain, 107-8 and 117-18, though these show a partial breaking-up into quatrains.

The play as a whole is evidently an old T play, large portions of which have been replaced by much-edited borrowings from Y. The portions which remain are themselves rewritings by the couplet and W editors of a still older play which must have borne close relations to Y in structure; for it contained that Judas scene which is independent of any biblical source and agreed with Y in raising Pilate to a prominent position in the play. It may, therefore, be assumed that the scenes from Y have taken the place of older scenes along the same lines. In spite of much re-editing the play has retained those fundamental characteristics in which it resembles Y and which they could both have attained only during a period in which they were identical.² Thus a study of T play 20 substantiates the theory of cyclic development upon which this study of T has been based. It is now necessary for us to consider some points in connection with the Old Testament group.

In the Old Testament group we face a situation which is quite different from any we have had before except in the plays composing the first section of the Passion group. When we compare these plays

¹ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XI, No. 2.

² In this connection it is proper to call attention to a contribution to *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1911, by Miss Frances Foster, of Bryn Mawr College. Miss Foster endeavors to show by quotation a dependence upon the Northern Passion in the Passion group in T. She has made three comparative selections: (I) from T, XX, 250-81, included in the section which Davidson has shown to be from the York parent-cycle; (II) from T, XX, 314-29, which is the work of the couplet editor; (III) from T, XXII, 353-74, which is the work of the Wakefield man. The second selection is obviously a complete quotation from the Northern Passion imbedded within a mass of material similar to that found in the Passion. The other two show similarity in rhymes, if one allows himself to distort the order of the lines, and also similarity in phraseology in certain common, idiomatic catch-phrases. Now the second selection is obviously a direct indication of source. The other two in connection with the second might be considered a similar indication, if it were not that they are by totally distinct authors and that one of them was originally written for the Y cycle and borrowed by an editor of Towneley. The couplet editor, however, evidently borrowed from the Northern Passion in this instance and this fact raises an interesting inquiry regarding the couplet editor and his use of sources which I hope may at some time be worked out.

in the T and Y cycles we find it impossible to discover any relationship similar to that which has been traced in other groups. The plays of this group differ considerably in title and as markedly in the framework of those the titles of which are alike. It is a safe assumption, therefore, that if the plays of the Christmas group in the two cycles, for instance, sprang from the same liturgical source, the plays of this group did not thus spring, but must have been added to the cycles after they had commenced their separate development. At the earliest they must have been of the transitional period which marks the time when the cycles were undergoing their process of transfer from the church service to the trade gilds.

I have elsewhere touched upon one point in evidence of this.¹ The pseudo-Augustinian sermon detailing the prophecies concerning Christ's coming, which was the basis from which the Old Testament plays developed, was sometimes not expanded, but compressed into a prologue, prophetic in nature, attached to the Christmas scenes.² This appears to have been the case in the liturgical play that is the common source of Y, T, and true-Cov., for each of these cycles contains such a prologue, Y and T develop their Old Testament scenes along different lines, and true-Cov. is without any Old Testament scenes at all. Evidently Y and T were thus compelled to undergo a separate development in this group.

The T plays in the Old Testament group are upon the following subjects in order: (1) *Creation, Fall of Lucifer, Adam and Eve in Eden*; (2) *The Killing of Abel*; (3) *Noah and the Ark*; (4) *Abraham and Isaac*; (5) *Isaac*; (6) *Jacob*; (7) *The Prophets*; (8) *Pharaoh* (Y 11 borrowed); (9) *Caesar Augustus*. Those of Y are in order: (1) *Fall of Lucifer*; (2, 3) *Creation*; (4) *Adam and Eve in Eden*; (5) *Fall of Man*; (6) *Adam and Eve Driven from Eden*; (7) *The Killing of Abel*; (8) *The Building of the Ark*; (9) *Noah, His Wife, The Flood, etc.*; (10) *Abraham and Isaac*; (11) *Departure of Israelites from Egypt* (borrowed in T under title *Pharaoh*). It is evident that through the story of Abraham the subjects of the scenes are practically the same, and that the chief variation comes in the rest of the series. These points are emphasized by a catalogue of the scenes in two other cycles

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, No. 3, pp. 427 and 433.

² Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 52 ff.

entirely outside of our discussion. In Chester the subjects in their order are: (1) *Fall of Lucifer*; (2) *Creation, Adam and Eve in Eden, Fall of Man, Adam and Eve Driven Out of Eden, The Killing of Abel*; (3) *Noah's Flood*; (4) *History of Lot and Abraham* including Isaac scene; (5) *Balaam*; (6) scene with *Octavian and Sybil* as part of the Nativity. This last is a prophetic scene. In so-called Coventry the subjects are: (1) *Fall of Lucifer, Creation, Adam and Eve in Eden*; (2) *Fall of Man, Adam and Eve Driven from Eden*; (3) *Killing of Abel*; (4) *Noah's Flood*; (5) *Abraham and Isaac*; (6) *Moses and the Two Tables*; (7) *The Prophets*.

The emphasis seems to have shifted from the prophecy, which was the essential thing in the old liturgical *Prophetæ*, to events in Bible history. The story of man's fall is necessary to any complete account of Christ's life, since it gives the reason for that life. So it is not surprising that in every cycle which contains Old Testament plays we find at the beginning a play with that as a central episode. In the cycles it is broken up into various scenes, but was probably all one originally. Such a play, extending only through *Cain and Abel* and ending in a *Prophetæ*, is preserved in the Norman-French *Ordo repræsentationis Adæ*.¹ In the English cycles it seems to have included certain well-known scenes down through the life of Abraham; but after that there was much latitude allowed. Thus Y has only the *Departure from Egypt*. So-called Coventry has *Moses and the Two Tables* and a *Prophetæ*. Chester has *Balaam and His Ass* and includes a scene between *Octavian and the Sybil* in the Nativity. T has *Isaac, Jacob, The Prophets, The Departure from Egypt, and Caesar Augustus*, another prophetic play; the most extended development of all at this point. Furthermore, although the titles of the first few plays agree to a large extent in all the cycles, the development of each is along separate lines. T is structurally different from Y, Chester, and so-called Coventry; and these are different from each other. A noticeable point in this connection is the position of the Lucifer scene in T, where it is not first, as in the other cycles, but imbedded in the story of the Creation. In Y this Creation story receives a much longer treatment than in T, and the method of conducting Adam and Eve into Paradise is different. The plays were

¹ Chambers, II, 70, 71.

evidently added to each of these two cycles at a period when they were no longer connected, as we were led to surmise by the absence of Old Testament plays in true-Cov.

Further, it is probable the *Prophetæ* in T was added after the plays connected with the Fall. It has been remarked that there seemed to be a very definite idea in the minds of the transitional editors as to what subjects in connection with early biblical history should be treated. It would be only natural, then, to add these plays to the cycle first, leaving the remaining portions of the history to be covered as time went on. This argument furnishes a reason why T contains five plays between the *Abraham* and the *Annunciation* and Y only one. The very presence of the *Departure from Egypt* in T illustrates the method of this growth. It is a borrowing from Y and must, therefore, have been a late addition to T. This is borne out by the fact that it is not in the correct chronological position. Instead of being before the *Prophets*, as it ought, it is between that and another prophetic play, the *Caesar Augustus*. The question naturally arises, Which of the three was added first? This it is impossible to say, but the irregularity shows that some, if not all, were late additions, though the sources from which the *Prophets* and *Caesar Augustus* were obtained is not known.

In this connection Professor ten Brink's theory as to the sources of *Isaac* and *Jacob* is of interest.¹ He believes that the thirteenth-century *Harrowing of Hell* is the earliest English drama and that the second was a play on *Jacob and Esau*, which appears to have been composed not far from the mouth of the Humber, and probably to the north of the dialect line. This play is, he thinks, preserved in the two plays on *Isaac* and *Jacob* in T. He says:

This play has been handed down in the Towneley collection; unfortunately it is mutilated at the beginning, and also divided into two parts: *Isaac* and *Jacob*. However, it originally formed, and, in fact, still forms, one drama, which was produced independently without regard to any cycle of mysteries, and indeed earlier than most of the others, probably than all the other parts of the cycle in which it was subsequently incorporated. All this can easily be proved by means now at the disposal of philology, but this is not the place for entering into the subject. Less certain is the local origin of the piece. The assumption that few of the rhyming words have been

¹ ten Brink, II, 244.

altered in their transmission could, for instance, allow of the supposition that the drama might have been produced in the Northeast-Midland territory, rather than in the southern districts of Northumbria, a supposition which would coincide very well with many other peculiarities of the work.

Pollard,¹ in discussing this opinion, raises the following objections:

1. *The Harrowing of Hell* is a dramatic poem, not a miracle play.
2. No one would act an isolated vernacular *Jacob and Esau*.
3. The play of *Abraham* would suggest a continuation to *Isaac* and *Jacob*.
4. Differences of dialect can be attributed to the removal from one district to another of a play-writing monk.

Yet he believes that the two plays do belong to an early period.

It might be still more probable that these two plays did commence their existence in some East-Midland cycle, and not as an isolated play, and were then borrowed by a T compiler, who was commencing to bridge the gap between the play on man's fall and the *Annunciation*. This would agree with the present theory and satisfy the philological considerations at which ten Brink hints, as well as the objections advanced by Pollard.

There are one or two other points about T which must be noticed. The first is in connection with the Lucifer scene in play 1, which seems to be a late insertion in the play. In every other cycle it comes first. Here it is rather awkwardly inserted after the fifth day of Creation. Besides, there are indications in other parts of the play that it originally contained no Fall of Lucifer. Every cycle opens with the sentence, "Ego sum alpha et Ω ," followed by a translation, or explanation, in English. In the T cycle this is prefixed directly to the *Creation* in such a way that no scene could ever have intervened between the two. Again, st. 11, in couplets, seems to be a rough attempt by the couplet editor to connect the fifth day of Creation and the Lucifer scene. Finally at the very end of the play as it now stands, Lucifer in Hell recounts briefly, as though it had not been given elsewhere, the event of the Fall. This may have been the only reference to the Fall in the original play.

The play *Caesar Augustus*, play 9, is peculiar. It is based entirely upon Luke 2:2, and is essentially prophetic. The emperor is enraged that a virgin shall bear a child who will lay low his might (Augustus

¹ E.E.T.S. edition of the Towneley plays, Introduction, p. xiv.

and Herod seem to be confused). He asks counsel and finally sends out a messenger to command the folk to own him alone as Lord and to pay tribute. That it is a prophetic scene is made more evident by a comparison with Chester, where a similar scene is interwoven with the Nativity. In the Chester scene Octavian interviews the Sibyl when the Senators offer him the crown, and she prophesies concerning Christ. This is not the T scene, but it shows that the character of Octavian, or Augustus, in these plays had grown up in connection with the Sibyl, out of the old *Prophetae*. In the sermon of prophecy noted above, the Sibyl was one of the prophets quoted.

We have, then, in the Old Testament scenes in T and Y, two distinct series without any such connection as has been traced for most of the rest of the cycle. They must have been added after T and Y had commenced their separate development. In other words, they must be transitional. There are indications that they were not all added to each cycle at the same time; but that a play of several scenes centering about man's fall was first added, after which the gap between this and the *Annunciation* was gradually filled.

To outline clearly the results of this rather detailed investigation is a matter of some difficulty. It has to do with the chronology of the growth of the Towneley cycle. I believe that it started from certain plays included in the church service, which must have followed the use of York. Out of this liturgical drama were developed plays 10-19 inclusive, the Christmas group; plays 25-28, inclusive, the Resurrection group; with a strong probability that there was also a Passion play in this liturgy from which developed plays 20-23, inclusive, the second section of the Passion group with the exception of play 24, and including play 32. I believe, further, that the Old Testament plays, 1-9, inclusive; the first section of the Passion group, the plays on Christ's ministry, plays 19 and 31; play 24 on the Talents; and 29 and 30, the Ascension and the Judgment, were transitional or from the final, or trade-gild, period in the cycle's development. It is, of course, only in the final period of a cycle's growth that we can trace the work of editors, because we possess only the text of that period. In this cycle this development seems to be about as follows. There are traces of four editings, although it is not possible to say whether the last two are by different men. The W editor came first.

He always based his work upon an already existing play, so that in scenes with a liturgical source his editings preserve the original structure. The couplet editor, who followed him, never showed much originality and so retained the older structure and even a phrase here and there of the older text. He was followed by the editor who made the borrowings from York and who is, I am inclined to think, identical with the fourth, or quatrain, editor. His work was mainly in the substitution of scenes borrowed from Y for others already present in the cycle. The cycle as we now have it is, therefore, an evolution, certain steps in which it has been possible to trace in some detail. The field of such comparative study is by no means exhausted; a similar study with the emphasis upon York, for instance, would doubtless have its value. It is possibly sufficient to have pointed the way and at the same time to have furnished this detailed proof of my results.

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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSÖGUR NORÐRLANDA

[Continued]

I. THE HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GRIPSSONAR

6. *The sources of the Hrómundar saga Gripssonar.*—The saga whose sources we are to consider is then the *lygisaga* of Hrómundr Gripsson, composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century in Iceland. Its contents we shall understand to have been those of the *Griplur*, subject to supplement or correction by comparison with the Scandinavian folksongs and the notice in *Sturlunga*, notably then lacking those episodes in the *Griplur* connected with the *Haddingjar*.

We have already given expression to the conviction that an episode relating to a reputed great-grandson of a possibly historical Hrómundr Gripsson¹ suggested the central episode of the *Hrómundar saga*. But even the elaboration of this episode the author owed in good part, as we shall see, to other sources. The episode from the *Landnáma* alluded to is this: Leifr, Ingólf's cousin, goes just prior to their second expedition to Iceland, on a viking-trip to the British Isles. In Ireland he discovers a great *jarðhús* ("earthhouse"), which he enters. In the darkness the light from a sword enables him to discern the form of an armed man. This man he kills, securing the sword and considerable treasure besides. As a result of this exploit his name was lengthened to *Hjörleifr* (*hjorr* = "sword"). Whether this story is true is in this connection of little moment, the circumstances are entirely those of real life, if we except the conception, natural enough to the naïve mind, of the weapon giving light sufficient to enable one to see its bearer. The *jarðhús* was a very common feature of house-construction in the Scandinavian saga-period; it was namely a subterranean recess, or more commonly passage-way, used for concealment or for escape in case the house were suddenly beset by foes.² That the story may have arisen as an attempt to etymologize

¹ Cf. *Landnáma*, pp. 6, 132.

² Cf. especially Valtýr Guðmundsson, *Privatboligen på Island i Sagatiden*, pp. 251 f. 601]

the name, *Hjörleifr*, is conceivable enough,¹ that its simple narrative is a derivative of the elaborately supernatural one of the *Hrómundar saga* is quite incredible.

Hrómund's adventure in Þráin's mound is one of a type not infrequent in the old Icelandic literature, of which a certain group are not without literary connection. Old Norse life in the viking-period furnished the custom of erecting in honor of distinguished chieftains and others imposing burial-mounds.² This form of burial was further common enough in the earlier iron-age and examples of it are preserved dating as far back as the close of the younger stone-age. That objects of adornment, often of great worth, were buried with the bodies is amply demonstrated by excavations of the mounds. In the viking-age naturally enough weapons were given strongly the preference over industrial implements and adornment, that is for the men, who must go equipped for Valhøll. Even the war-horse was sometimes buried with its master. Excavations show further in some cases³ that the mounds have at one time or another been entered and plundered. That this might have been undertaken in some cases as early as the viking or saga-period, there is no reason to doubt. In the sagas this procedure (*at brjóta haug*) is often alluded to, and it is related of many a viking-chieftain that he employed this means of replenishing his depleted purse⁴ or that he thus secured an especially good sword. A certain Þorsteinn mentioned in the *Landnáma* (pp. 104, 216, 235) even bore the by-name *haugabrjótr*. Now it is a well-known feature of the Old Norse lower mythology that the soul of the departed might linger about the place where the dead body is buried.⁵ Very frequent in the sagas are the episodes where the *haugbúi* recites a verse or otherwise expresses himself from his mound or where the *draugr* is encountered in or about his burial-place. This *draugr* demeans himself very much as a

¹ Cf. the similar story contained in Arngrímur Jónsson's excerpts from the *Skjöldunga saga* (*Aarbøger*, 1894, 107) how the name of the legendary Danish king *Leifus* came to be changed to *Herteifus*, or that of the *Rímbeigla* (ed. S. Björnson, *Hafniae* 1780 and 1801, p. 318) how *Leifr* came to be called *Friðleifr*.

² Cf. S. Müller, *Vor Oldtid*, 649 ff., and for Norway especially G. Gustafson, *Norges Oldtid*, 135 ff.

³ Cf. S. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 651; Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁴ Cf. my edition of the *Hálfs saga*, chap. 5, and note.

⁵ Cf. P. Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, pp. 31 ff.

living human being, only being possessed of superhuman strength and commonly of a more than usual degree of human "cussedness." The approved methods of putting an end to his activities are to sever his head from his body and set the same beneath his rump, or impale his body with a stake or burn it to ashes. That there should be encounters of the grave-robbing vikings with the draugr is inevitable, and the means of settling the possession of sword and valuables often takes the form of a wrestling-match (*glíma*) between the hero and the draugr, as is the case in the *Hrómundar saga*. There is no absolute necessity in the natural order of things that the contest should take this form and there is little doubt that the stories in which this feature is found show the influence of a common literary tradition, and what the underlying tradition was, can I think be demonstrated. The earliest occurrence is in Saxo,¹ where it is related that two young Norwegians, Asmundus and Aswitus, entered into foster-brotherhood and that Asmundus upon his friend's death let himself be interred with him. Followers of the Swedish king, Ericus, attempted to plunder the mound and let down one of their number in a basket. Asmundus pulled the young man out of the basket, entered himself, and gave the signal to be pulled up, upon which he related his experiences in verse. It appeared that Aswitus had revived in the night and after consuming the horse and dog which had been consigned to the grave with him had attacked Asmundus, in the wrestling-bout which followed scratching with his claws the latter's face and tearing off an ear. Asmundus had then cut off the head of his assailant with his sword and impaled its body with a stake. This episode, loosely connected by Saxo with the story of Frotho, rests, as Olrik notes,² upon Icelandic material brought to Denmark by the Icelfander *Arnoldus Thylensis* mentioned by Saxo as being with Bishop Absalon about 1168,³ or otherwise. What Saxo knew about this legend of Ásmundr seems to have been mostly limited to the song with refrain which he has rendered into Latin verse. That this song, or the narrative in which it appeared, existed to a late period in Iceland is attested, as Olrik states,⁴ by its appearance in the *Egils*

¹ Ed. Holder, pp. 161 ff.

² *Saxoes Oldhistorie*, I, 66 f., 1892.

³ Cf. Olrik, *op. cit.*, II, 286 ff., 1894.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 67.

saga einhenda of the fourteenth century.¹ According to this version Ásmundr (*berserkjabani*) has entered into foster-brotherhood with Aran, son of King Róðfan of Tattaría. Upon the latter's death he is buried in a mound, sitting in full panoply of war upon a chair, accompanied by horse, dog, and falcon. Ásmundr seats himself in a chair by his dead friend's side. The first night Aran revives and kills and eats dog and falcon, the second night he attacks the horse and invites Ásmundr to share the repast, the third night he attacks Ásmundr himself and tears off both his ears, whereupon the latter cuts off his head, burns his body to ashes, and takes his valuables. That the *Hrómundar saga's* account of Dráinn was based upon this same poem, which Saxo knew at least in part, cannot for a moment be doubted. The draugr sitting in his mound, his voracity even to cannibalism, the wrestling-match, the long claws with which the draugr scratches the face of his adversary, all these are common features, as is also the final decapitation and burning of the monster. The *Hrómundar saga*, despite its exaggerative elaboration of the material (for this exaggeration the revised form may be in part accountable), shows much more clearly the direct relationship to this song of Ásmundr than do any other of the sagas which have made use of the same tradition. The two other sagas which show clearly such usage are the *Grettis saga*² in the episode treating the struggle of Grettir with the draugr Kárr enn gamli and the *Harðar saga Grímkels-sonar*³ in the episode recounting Hǫrð's entrance into the burial-mound of Sóti víkingr. The latter saga is in the main a fictitious work from the fourteenth century,⁴ the *Grettis saga* in its final form dates at the earliest from about 1300.⁵ Both have drawn largely upon material of the type of the *fornaldarsögur*. Boer maintains that the episode in question of the *Grettis saga* formed part of the original saga,⁶ which he believes was composed about 1250.⁷ While both of these sagas have made use of the same tradition of the wrestling-match with a draugr in its mound, they show no necessary immediate dependence upon the *Hrómundar saga* any more than the latter does upon them and we may dismiss them from further considera-

¹ *Fas.*, III, 378 f.

² Ed. Boer, chap. 18.

³ *Íslendinga sögur*, II, 43 ff.

⁴ Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, III, 81.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, II, 751.

⁶ *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.*, XXX, 53, 1898.

⁷ *Grettis saga*, p. xxxii, 1900.

tion. The good sword Mistilteinn secured by Hrómundr in the mound is loaned from the Hervarar saga,¹ as is clear from the name of its original owner Sæmingr (*Griplur*, III, 52) and his localization in Samsey (not in Sweden!). Not only is the Hervarar saga the only other source assigning to Sæmingr the sword Mistilteinn, but the three other lists of Arngrím's sons² agree in not including him.³ Sæmingr was, according to the Háleygjatal of Eyvindr skáldaspillir,⁴ the name of the first of the kings of Hálogaland in northern Norway, a son of Odin.⁵ For the choice of the name Dráinn for the draugr there is no immediate source to be demonstrated. The most natural incentive to the choice of the name lay in its meaning, if it were felt as the equivalent of *þrárr*, "pertinax,"⁶ and in the fact that it was not unfamiliar as the name of a dwarf⁷ along with the primary form *Þrárr*. That the dwarfs were intimately associated in the mythological fancy of the Scandinavians with the souls of the dead is apparent enough from some of the dwarf-names (e.g., *Dáinn* = "dead," *Nár* = "corpse," etc.), as well as from a variety of other considerations.⁸ It must be mentioned however that Dráinn occurs elsewhere as a name of persons, e.g., in a metrical list of heroes included in a late version of the Qrvar-Odds saga,⁹ in the Njáls saga¹⁰ and in the Landnáma.¹¹ That the Dráinn of our source is represented as having been the king of Valland is worthy of note as the only non-Scandinavian localization in the original Hrómundar saga attested by the rímur. That Dráinn is called¹² *Hundings kundur* does not necessarily give us information of his father's name or even of a legendary family of heroes to which he may have belonged. The fact that the epithet

¹ Bugge, *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*, p. 206.

² Saxo, *Hyndluljóð*; and Qrvar-Odds saga.

³ Cf. Bugge, *Norræn Fornkvæði*, 156 f.

⁴ Composed according to F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, I, 460, shortly after 986.

⁵ Cf. *Hkr.*, I, 21 (compare 5); *Sn. Ed.*, I, 28, 554; II, 636; *Fms.*, IV, 3; *Ólaf's saga helga*, ed. Munch and Unger, p. 2.

⁶ Cf. Egilsson, *Lexicon poeticum*, p. 916.

⁷ Cf. *Völuspá*, 12 and *Sn. Ed.*, I, 66.

⁸ According to Noreen, *Urgermanische Lautlehre*, p. 224, the words *ðvergr* and *draugr* are themselves etymologically closely related.

⁹ Ed. Boer, Leyden, p. 105.

¹⁰ Ed. F. Jónsson (1908), chaps. 34 ff.

¹¹ Dráinn *svartipúrs*, pp. 73, 193.

¹² *Griplur*, II, 38, 55.

is used in the *rímur* merely as a substitute for his own name or a pronoun referring to him would tend rather to signify that it is a kenning. As a matter of fact *Hundigr* as the name of a viking-chieftain is preserved in the *Dulur*¹ (the name is frequent enough in Saxo, the *Edda* and elsewhere) and, like other names of "sea-kings," is found in kenningar, e.g., in the *Íslendinga drápa* of Haukr Valdísarson.² *Hundings meyjar* in a stanza of the *Hjalmtérs saga ok Ólvis*³ appears in the same way to have been originally a kenning. *Hundings kundur* would in that case mean approximately viking, or viking-chieftain, which corresponds entirely with what is related of his activities prior to his burial in the mound, barring the secondary supernatural features, and especially with the important statement⁴ that he had conquered Valland. It is surprising that the *rímur* should have preserved this epithet, and it is not at all unlikely that they have it from one of the numerous verses of the original saga. That *Dráinn* was represented as the son or descendent of a *Hundigr* is possible enough, is confirmed however by no other source and I think under the circumstances improbable.

Svanhvít, *Hrómund's* beloved, is not mentioned in the *Griplur* until after the conclusion of this contest with *Dráinn*.⁵ This love-story must however have formed in the original saga an element second only in importance to that of the plundering of *Dráinn's* mound. The key to the author's source for this element of his story appears to lie in the name of his heroine, *Svanhvít*. This name is originally that of a valkyrie, as is shown by the relatively old Eddic poem, *Vølundarkvipa*, in which a valkyrie of this name (or by-name) is married to a mortal *Slagfípr*, *Vølund's* brother. With this valkyrie the *Svanhvít* of the *Hrómundar saga* has, however, only the name in common. Quite different is the case with the *Svanhvít* (*Swanhwita*) known to Saxo,⁶ a daughter of *Hadingus*, king of Denmark. The story of her love for *Regnerus*, king of Sweden, by Saxo loosely interwoven in his legend of King *Frotho*, rested, as *Olrik* has detected,⁷

¹ *Sn. Ed.*, I, 547.

² Stanza 3; *Wiseñ, Carmina Norrøna*, I, 79; II, 55: *Hundings elgreynir*.

³ *Fas.*, III, 483.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 8.

⁵ *Griplur*, II, 39.

⁶ Pp. 42 ff.

⁷ *Saksas Oldhistorie*, I, 140, 1892; II, 11 f., 1894. Cf. already *Uhland, Schriften*, VIII, 132, 1873.

on an Icelandic poem, and the existence of this poem in Iceland is confirmed, quite as was that of the poem treating Ásmund's experience in the mound of his foster-brother, by the *Hrómundar saga*, the author of whose original version certainly made use of this poem, or at any rate of the legend connected therewith. The story of Regnerus and Swanhwita has been treated in a number of investigations;¹ as these however are primarily concerned with the demonstration of a relationship between Saxo's story and the Eddic *Helgi*-songs and have, though mentioning the *Hrómundar saga*, made use only of the corrupt version of the seventeenth century, it is not strange that the relationship of our saga to Saxo's story was not completely understood. Saxo's account is essentially as follows: Thorilda, the wife of Hundingus, king of Sweden, hated her two step-sons, Regnerus and Thoraldus, and sent them out to watch the royal herds, where they were tormented by a variety of monsters. Swanhwita, daughter of Hadingus of Denmark, heard about the matter and set out, accompanied by her sisters, for Sweden. They found the two youths engaged in their nightly vigil, surrounded by hideous monsters. Regnerus was ashamed of his menial occupation and his wretched clothing and informed the princess that he was the king's slave. She looked at him sharply and assured him at once that his bearing, his features, and the glance of his eye belied his assertion and proved him to be the son of a king. She revealed herself to him in her full beauty and gave him a sword as a betrothal gift. Then she spent the night in combating and destroying the monsters.² She thereupon married Regnerus, who became king of Sweden. After a contest with her brother, Frotho, the latter was reconciled to the marriage. Shortly after Regnerus' death Swanhwita also died of grief. That we have here essentially the situation portrayed in the ballads, viz., that the hero's clothes are not suited for his appearance at court and that the princess recognizes in him evidence of the fact that he is destined to become a king, is indisputable. For this correspondence there is under the circumstances but one adequate explanation, and that is that the source of the ballad, which, as we have seen, was the

¹ Cf. Bugge, *Studier*, II (1896), pp. 318 ff., and the literature there mentioned.

² Jantzen may well be right in assuming (*Saxo Grammaticus übersetzt und erläutert* 69, Fussnote 2, 1900), that something is wrong here, and that Regnerus must have employed his new sword for this purpose; cf. already Uhland, *Schriften*, VII, 203, 1868.

story of Hrómundr Gripsson, must have contained this episode, i.e., that it formed a part of the original lygisaga of Hrómundr, which had become considerably modified before the composition of the *Griplur*. That Swanhwita gave Regnerus a sword as a betrothal gift is emphasized by Saxo and quite corresponds with old Germanic usage, as Uhland notes.¹ The hero of the Hrómundar saga had, however, already his trusty sword Mistilteinn from Þráin's mound. The author lets Svanhvít accordingly present him with a shield.

That there is anything of old legendary tradition in the family-relations ascribed to Svanhvít is unlikely, as no mention of such can be found in any source certainly antedating the Hrómundar saga. Her father Gnóðar-Ásmundr is, it is true, frequently mentioned in the fornaldarsögur² and must have played an important rôle in the older heroic legend of Iceland, though the content of his original saga has by no means been established. As is so frequently the case in the later fornaldar and lygisögur, the personages of the saga have been genealogically attached to heroes from former generations. Whether the sister of Svanhvít was originally called Dagný or Dagmær is uncertain. In the *Griplur* the best MS *a* has Dagmær, though Finnur Jónsson has taken into the text the reading Dagný of *W* (now confirmed by *d*), which agrees with that of the seventeenth-century saga. The *Göngu-Hrólfs* saga and the *Gríms* saga *loðinkinna* support, as we noted above, the reading of *W* and *d*, the *Hálfðans* saga *Eysteinsonar* that of *a*, giving a balance of probability in favor of Dagný. The king, Ólafr liðsmannakonungr, it is entirely hopeless to attempt to find in any source antedating the Hrómundar saga. The epithet *liðsmannakonungr* means nothing in particular, as a *liðsmadr* was simply a warrior in the king's special troop (*lið*) and the epithet might accordingly apply to any king whatever of the viking period. His localization in Hordaland in Norway by the *Griplur* is undoubtedly that of the original saga, as the whole contents of the saga correspond better with the conception of Ólafr as a Norwegian king, the Hrómundr of the *Landnáma* was a Norwegian and the precedent of the older fornaldarsögur was strong enough to make this choice

¹ *Op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 133 ff.; cf. especially his reference to Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 18.

² Cf. Register to *Fas.*

of location the most natural one.¹ In this king's service two brothers, Kári and Örnólfr, are given especial prominence and are obviously to be conceived of as *stafnbúar* on the king's ship; Kári is at any rate definitely assigned this position. As a contrast to these two faithful warriors we find the two evil counselors, Bildr and Váli (older Icelandic *Váli*). For the names of all these personages as also those of Hrómund's eight brothers it is futile to seek a definite source or even sources, as they are all drawn from the abundant supply of more or less typical Norse names. That a stafnbúi of the Norwegian king, Hákon enn gamli, was called Kári Eindriðason² can be nothing more than a coincidence. The two evil counselors have been compared by Boer³ with Bolwisus and Bilwisus of the Hagbarthus-legend of Saxo.⁴ This comparison is in the main unjustified. In the first place Bilwisus was not an evil, but a good counselor, the counterpart of his malicious brother; in the second place there is no great correspondence in the two stories anyhow, except in the one point that lovers are slandered by an evil counselor; and finally Boer's statement that Váli and Bildr are corruptions of Bølvíss and Bilvíss, is in no sense whatever true, as both are well-substantiated Old Norse names and have only the most superficial resemblance to Bølvíss and Bilvíss, while the very apparent contrast in meaning of Bølvíss and Bilvíss would tend to prevent such a corruption, and there is further no certain evidence that Bilvíss was known in an Icelandic version of the Hagbarð-legend.⁵ If Boer's contention of an influence of the Hagbarð-legend is correct, it can apply only to the saga of Helgi Haddingjaskati interpolated in the later version of the Hrómundar saga which formed the basis of the rímur, and will be further discussed in that connection. Still less justified is the identification by Detter⁶ of Váli with the Hrókr of the Hrólfs saga kraka.⁷ There is absolutely no point of similarity between the two except an evil disposition, and the ring episode upon which Detter especially bases his comparison,

¹ Cf. Olrik, *Saksen Oldhistorie*, II, 280 ff., 1894.

² *Flat.*, III, 219.

³ *P. B. Beiträge*, 22, 386, 1897.

⁴ *Pp.* 232 ff.

⁵ Cf. Olrik, *Saksen Oldhistorie*, II, 245, 1894.

⁶ *PBB*, 18, 99, 1893.

⁷ *Ed. F. Jónsson*, ch. 8 f.

represents a corruption of the dog-and-ring-exchange of the *Griplur* which has nothing in common with the episode of the *Hrólfs saga*. It may be said once for all that the prototype of the Old Norse evil counselor who slanders the young lovers is given in the person of Bikki¹ introduced into Scandinavia with the Ermanarich-legend. How this evil counselor came to be associated with Odin in the Hagbarð-legend is a question which does not concern us here. I can find no trace of it in the persons of Váli and Bildr of the *Hrómundar saga*, as in fact no influence of the Hagbarð-legend at all. It may further be noted that the slandered young person of the Ermanarich-legend bore in its Scandinavian form the name Svanhildr, which is suggestively similar to the Svanhvít of the *Hrómundar saga*. The recognition in the brothers Bildr and Váli of our saga of the brothers Baldr and Váli of the Baldr-myth² is, it seems to me, fruitless pains, for there is, if we except the sword Mistilteinn, which, as we have already noted, the *Hrómundar saga* had from the *Hervarar saga*, absolutely no point of contact between the story of *Hrómundr* and the Baldr-myth and it is almost inconceivable that the Icelandic saga of the thirteenth century or any other time should have made evil counselors out of Baldr and his brother Váli.³ The *Qrvar-Odds saga*⁴ mentions a Bildr among the sons of Arngrímr, it was seemingly not infrequent as a by-name⁵ and it appears not to have been unknown in Denmark as well.⁶

An important episode in the saga was the battle of Elfarsker, and this brings us at once into a not unimportant literary tradition of the *fornaldarsögur*, viz., the viking-battle at Elfarsker, which may be merely an aspect of the somewhat stereotyped viking-battle of later sources generally. Of the Elfarsker (small islands at the mouth of the Götaelf below Göteborg; the Götaelf formed in the saga-period part of the boundary between Sweden and Norway), the *Færeyinga*

¹ *Sigurðarkviða en skamma*, 63; prose introduction to *Guðrúnar kvæði*, *Völunga saga*, chaps. 31, 40; *Sn. Ed.*, I, 366-68; Saxo, 279 f., *Sifka* of the *Þiðreks saga*; cf. Ags. Becca and Sifeca, Ohg. *Sibicho*.

² Hermann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 401, 1903; Niedner, *Zeitschr. f. d. Alt.-u. XLI*, 319, 1897; Mogk, *Grundr.*, I, 1064, 1891.

³ Cf., however, Olrik, *Saksas Oldhistorie*, II, 26 f., 1894.

⁴ Chap. 29, stanza 8; cf. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn*, 138 f.

⁵ Cf. F. Jónsson, *Aarbøger*, 1907, 235.

⁶ Cf. O. Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*, pp. 12 f.

saga¹ reports that they were a favorite resort of vikings (*vikingabæli mikit*), which report is further confirmed by the Egils saga² with the explanation that there was here an especially good opportunity to prey upon merchant vessels, which in great numbers took the course through this group of islands. And the Færeyinga saga³ gives in its simplest preserved form the tradition in question. Among the viking-exploits of the young Sigmundr Brestisson, which show various features we are accustomed to meet in the fornaldarsögur,⁴ it is related that he with his cousin, Þórir Beinisson came once toward the close of summer to Elfarsker, that he anchored at an island, went ashore, and mounted to a vantage-point from which he saw on the other side of the island five ships, one of them a dragon-ship (*dreki*). Sigmundr had but three ships, each manned with a crew of forty men. Sigmundr returns, reports to his men and plans an attack. He orders his ships to be loaded with stones. The next morning they proceed to the attack. In the bow of the *dreki* stood a large man, who asked the name of their leader, upon learning which he introduced himself as Randvér from Hólmgarðr and demanded surrender or battle. Randvér lets three ships bear the brunt of the attack, holding himself aloof at the beginning. Sigmundr attacks first with a shower of stones, then with other missiles and finally hand-to-hand. The *dreki* and the other reserve-ship join in the fray. Sigmundr commands his men to board the *dreki*, a considerably larger and higher ship. Randvér rushes to meet him and a hard contest ensues. Sigmundr finally succeeds by a peculiarly dexterous feat in cutting off his adversary's right foot and then killing him. His followers flee with three ships. The crew of the *dreki* are all killed. After a few day's rest and recuperation Sigmundr and his men repair to Vík to meet Eiríkr jarl. It is expressly stated that Sigmundr and Þórir on their viking-trips did not molest merchants and this trait is predicated with remarkable fidelity of nearly all the other heroes of the various versions of the fight at Elfarsker.

¹ *Flat.*, I, 137.

² Chap. 48, 11; the Brenneyjar must be identical with the Elfarsker; cf. also *Fagrskinna*, chap. 9.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 f.

⁴ Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 650.

This humane principle is made by Hjálmar in the *Qrvar-Odds saga*¹ into a viking-law and accepted as such by his *fóstbróðir*, *Qrvar-Oddr*.²

Of the contest at *Elfarsker* the *Qrvar-Odds saga* has even introduced two versions. The first (chap. 15) is the struggle with *Hálfðan víkingr, son Hróa Upplendingakonungs*. He had thirty ships, one of them an immense *dreki*. *Qrvar-Oddr* rowed out to reconnoiter after anchoring his three ships, saw the fleet, and asked the name of the leader. After they had learned each other's identity and exchanged defiances, *Oddr* rowed back, ordered the valuables to be removed from the ships and stones to be loaded on³ and trees to be cut with projecting branches to serve as scaling ladders for boarding the *dreki*. They surprised the fleet before the break of morning, scaled the *dreki*, killed its crew, *Oddr* himself slaying *Hálfðan*, upon which the rest of the fleet surrendered. *Oddr* spent the remainder of the summer off the Norwegian coast, where he secured freedom from molestation to (*fríðaði fyrir*) merchants. The other version (chap. 26) introduces the supernatural element. *Oddr* and *Hjálmar* found among the *Elfarsker* two large ships with black tenting spread upon them. *Oddr* asked the name of the commander and learned that it was *Qgmundr Eypjófsbani*. After proclaiming his own name, *Oddr* was challenged to an encounter. He and *Hjálmar* made preparations, loading stones upon their ships. *Qgmundr* is described as a typical *blámaðr* with black face and a mat of black hair (*flóki svartr*). He had eight comrades of his own ilk, all were invulnerable to iron (as was also *Oddr* through the protection of the magic shirt made him by *Qlvör*) and more like trolls than men in stature and general villainy. The fight lasts until only the three *fóstbræðr* are left on the one side and the nine *blámenn* on the other, when they agree to stop. This episode has, as will be seen, varied considerably from the type, but it is interesting as showing certain new features corresponding both to the account in the *Griplur* and to the two versions in the *Dorsteins saga Víkingssonar*.

The first version of the *Dorsteins saga*⁴ is a sort of preliminary to

¹ Chap. 18, 8.

² Cf. also *Fríðþjófs saga*, chap. 11, 1 and *Fas.*, III, 596.

³ Cf. here the note in Boer's Halle edition.

⁴ Chap. 20; *Fas.*, II, 440 ff.

the second, which has been elaborated to a considerable episode. In the first episode the *fóstbræðr* Dorsteinn and Beli are conducting a summer viking-campaign with seven ships. They anchor at Elfarsker and Dorsteinn and Beli land, cross over a promontory (*nes*) and see on the other side twelve ships lying with black tenting over them. There were also tents on the land, where cooking was going on. These they approached in disguise and ascertained that the leader of the fleet was *Slisa-Úfi, son Herbrandsens hofuðmikla*, brother of *Qtunfaxi*. They attacked in the early morning, the fight lasted three days; on the third day they succeeded in boarding the *dreki* on which the leader was; Dorsteinn killed him with his good sword, *Angrvaðill*, but gave his followers *gríð*. The next summer they extend their foster-brotherhood to Angantýr (chap. 21) and the summer after all three with thirty ships (chap. 22) carry on activities on the coast of Sweden, killing all evil vikings, but leaving peasants and merchants unmolested. At the *sker* known as the *Brenneyjar*¹ they anchor, land, and meet the peasant Brennir, who warns them of Qtunfaxi vikingr. The latter was at the other side of the island, thirsting to avenge his brother's death. He had forty ships, was large as a troll and invulnerable to iron. Brennir advises them to seek the assistance of Sindri the dwarf, which they do. The latter counsels them to leave their valuables on land and load up their ships with stones and trees and to attack before the crews awake in the morning; he gives them further a knife and Brennir gives them a club, against neither of which weapons was Qtunfaxi invulnerable. The attack was begun with a shower of stones before Faxi's men had awakened. The fight lasted two days, various of Faxi's ships were boarded with success, only not his own *dreki*, *Ellidí*, as it was too high. The fight continued through the night of the second day, as it was the season of light nights. Finally the three *fóstbræðr* succeeded in boarding *Ellidí*, Angantýr and Beli were wounded, Dorsteinn however struck Faxi a couple of blows with his club, so that he fell into the water. Dorsteinn leaped in after him; Faxi came to land and began hurling stones at Dorsteinn. The latter had left his club behind on the ship, and his two comrades now attacked Faxi with that and with stones until he again fell into the water.

¹ So Rafn; evidently the *Brenneyjar* at mouth of Gautelfr.

Dorsteinn attacked him in the water and after a terrific struggle killed him with the knife presented by the dwarf.

The *Sqrla pátttr*¹ alludes merely (pp. 276 f.) to a battle at Elfarsker fought by the two brothers *Sqrlr* and *Erlendr*, sons of *Erlingr*, king of *Upplond* in Norway, against *Sindri vikingr*, son of *Sveigir*, son of *Haki sækonungr*, in which *Sindri* fell, as did also *Erlendr*. Afterward *Sqrlr* is said to have performed a variety of exploits in the *Eystrasalt*, which are not however related.

The death-song of *Ásbjörn prúði* contained in the *Orms pátttr Stórolfssonar*² appears also to contain allusion to an exploit in the *Elfarsker* (st. 5), if it be not misunderstood or in fact corrupt.

Other viking-contests of the *fornaldarsögur*, though not localized definitely at *Elfarsker*, appear to be referable to the same literary tradition. That of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis*³ is taken directly from the *Dorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, as Gould has already proven.⁴ In the *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*⁵ the contest between *Ásmundr* and *Hrólfr* (chap. 10) introductory to the establishment of *fóstbræðralag* between them shows strongly the influence of this same tradition, but much more strongly is it evident in the conflict (chaps. 16-18) between *Hrólfr* and *Grímarr* at a small island on the coast of *Sjóland*, which has nearly all the characteristic features, mostly in their pristine form. That *Ásmundr* pursues *Grímarr* swimming through the sea and that the latter having reached land hurls a stone at his still swimming pursuer, but is then killed with a club, shows clearly a transition to the version of the *Dorsteins saga*, where to this episode (*Faxi* being clubbed, but not killed) the submarine battle is appended.

Now in comparing with these numerous versions the account of the *Griplur* it is to be borne in mind that this account may not in all respects be an exact duplicate of that of the original *Hrómundar saga*. It would be indeed strange if in the course of a century or a century and a half the story had not experienced an influence from others presenting the same episode, so especially in respect to the supernatural powers of the opposing chieftain, which are not at all sug-

¹ *Flat.*, I, 275 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 528.

³ Chaps. 4-5; *Fas.*, III, 458 ff.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, VII, 207 ff., 1909.

⁵ Ed. Dettér, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, Halle, 1891.

gested by the *Hrǫngviðr vikingr* of the Sturlunga. To attempt to establish relationships of these versions to each other is for our immediate purpose unnecessary; it is enough to have pointed out the common underlying tradition. The Griplur retain (I, 12) the feature that King Ólaf's vikings concentrate their energies upon the punishing of evil men, that they do not molest merchants. At Elfarsker they anchor off an island. Kári and Qrnólfr are sent across the island to bring back a report of possible vikings on the other side. They see six viking-ships lying at anchor, one of them a dreki. In a verse Kári defiantly asked the name of the leader. A fiend (*dólgur*) upon the deck of the dreki gave his name as *Hrǫngviðr*. Mutual threats are exchanged and *Hrǫngviðr* furnishes the information that his viking-career has lasted sixty years with uniform success. The two scouts return and report progress and the king orders preparations for the *mélée* to be made. In the fight Kári does horrible execution; *Hrǫngviðr* leaps upon Olaf's ship and is met by Kári, whom he kills as he does directly afterward Qrnólfr. He then demands surrender, but Gripsson attacks him with a steel-club (*Hrǫngviðr* was invulnerable to sword, spear, or arrow). The hero has for some unexplained reason disguised himself with a goat's beard, the standard method of passing oneself off as a *stafkarl*¹ ("old, infirm person, beggar," Vigfússon, cf. Dan. *stakkel*, Norw. *stakkar*) and wears a slouch hat.² He snatches up the king's standard and the enemy withdraw before his blows to *Hrǫngviðr*'s ship. *Hrǫngviðr* asks scornfully after his name; Hrómundr proclaims his identity, and kills his adversary with the club. *Hrǫngviðr*'s followers surrender.

None of these several versions of the viking-battle at Elfarsker can lay claim to especial antiquity. Of them all, in the forms preserved, that contained in the *Færeyinga saga* shows all of the typical and original features and may well be the oldest. This is found only in the version of the *Flateyjarbók* and is, as even Finnur Jónsson admits,³ hardly historical. The date of original composition of the

¹ Cf., e.g., *Flat.*, I, 210; II, 128.

² This disguise does not appear in any other version of the battle of Elfarsker, except as it is made use of in the first episode of the *Dorsteins saga*, which has it from another source (cf. *Flat.*, II, 128). For the participation of masked men in a fight cf. *Fas.*, III, 321.

³ *Lit. hist.*, II, 650.

Færeyinga saga is according to F. Jónsson¹ the beginning of the thirteenth century, according to Golther² 1220-30; the viking-episodes appear in large part to be due to a later redaction.³ That this was the direct source of the episode of the Hrómundar saga is possible, but it is at least conceivable that the reverse may have been the case or that the relationship may have been of a still different nature. The Qrvar-Odds saga does not take the episode farther back; on the contrary, if the allusion in the verses of this saga be taken into account, they contain no mention of Elfarsker. Stanza 46, alluding to the fight with Qgmundr Eypjófsbani, locates it "at *Elfarsund*, at *Trönuvágum*. The *Trönuvágur* (*trana*. f. = "crane") are entirely unknown and the name probably fictitious, and Elfarsund is very questionable. The only occurrence of the same I can find is in one MS of the Sverris saga,⁴ where it occurs as a variant to Áleyjarsund (= Atleyjarsund now Granesund; cf. *Fms.*, XII, 262) on the western coast of Norway. The exploit with Hálfdan the verses localize at the Svíasker by Stockholm (st. 45) and that with Hlödver (st. 44; cf. chap. 25, 7-10, but also version M of saga, Boer, Leyden ed., p. 86) at Skíða (= Skien in southern Norway). Of these three stanzas Boer regards forty-six⁵ as a part of an older ævidrápa from the eleventh century, the other two⁶ as from the first half of the twelfth century. While so great an age of these verses is highly improbable, not to say inconceivable,⁷ they are at any rate older than the prose-episodes in the Qrvar-Odds saga corresponding to them, and in so far their place-names are more reliable. They contain, as has been noted, no allusion to Elfarsker. There has recently, it is true, been rescued from the Danish popular ballad⁸ dealing with the *hólmganga* on Samse, an allusion to Odd's contests at Elfarsker;⁹ there is, however, no reason to suppose the source of the ballad in this particular to have

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 652, 1901.

² *Germanistische Abhandlungen zum LXX. Geburtstag Konrad von Maurers*, p. 13, 1893.

³ F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 651.

⁴ *Fms.*, VIII, 187.

⁵ Halle edition of *Qrvar-Odds saga*, p. xli.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

⁷ Cf. Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica Minora*, pp. xlvii, lxiv.

⁸ Grundtvig, *DgF.*, No. 19.

⁹ Cf. K. Aubert in *Sproglige og historiske Afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugges Minde*, 1908, pp. 20 ff.

been older than the Qrvar-Odds saga preserved to us. The tradition of the battle at Elfarsker cannot then be followed farther back than the beginning of the thirteenth century, in fact not so far, and belongs solely to the type of the fornaldarsögur and the fictitious sagas modeled after them. It does not even appear in the older forms of the fornaldarsögur, as for example in those used by Saxo. Nor does the name, Elfarsker, itself appear, so far as I know, in historical sources, where Elfr (Gautelfr), the Elfarkvíslir, the island Hísing, and the Brenneyjar are not infrequently mentioned. Even the name then appears to be inseparably connected with this tradition of the viking-fight, which as we have seen is not an especially old one. If it be correctly identified with the islands at the mouth of the Gautelfr, as it seems beyond question to be, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suspect that a historical contest at this place may be the basis of it, or may at any rate have contributed to its localization there. As a matter of fact it is related of Guthormr, one of Haraldr hárfagri's sons, that he was set to defend this frontier of the Norwegian kingdom, and that he fell in the Elfarkvíslir in a fight with Sölvi klofi.¹ Whether this be historical or not, the conflict in the Elfarkvíslir of the year 1159, in which King Ingi with Grégórfús Dagsson and Erlingr skakki defeated King Hákon, must have been well known through living tradition and the *Elfarvísur* composed by the scald Einarr Skúlason commemorating it. Snorri gives in the Heimskringla² in chaps. 5-11 of his Hákonar saga herðibreiðs a detailed account of this battle, which is merely alluded to in Fagrskinna.³ It should be said that it was preceded in the summer of 1158 (chaps. 2-3) by a contest at Konungahella on an arm of the Gautelfr, which should be reckoned with the other, if an influence of the kind assumed is to be established. Grégórfús Dagsson was stationed by King Ingi to protect the frontier at Konungahella on the Gautelfr. Hákon appears with a superior force and Grégórfús gets away with two ships to Vík seeking reinforcements. He returns with eleven ships, which force is still inferior to Hákon's, and makes the attack. Hákon has put his naval force under the command of Þorljótr skaufuskalli,

¹ *Hkr.*, I, 144 ff.; cf. *Fms.*, X, 196; *Flat.*, I, 576.

² III, 402 ff.

³ Ed. F. Jónsson, p. 358.

who is described as a "*víkingr ok ránsmaðr*," quite as the adversary of the hero in the Elfarsker-episode. Grégórífús was completely victorious over a force on the ships and decks ten times as strong as his own. The next summer Ingí set out for the Gautelfr, rowed into its northern arm and anchored off the island Hising, from which place he sent out scouts to ascertain the position of Hákon's forces. These saw Hákon's ships attached to piles, outermost two large *austrfarar-knerrir* with high *húnkastalar* forward. This time the forces of Ingí are superior. King Ingí himself is persuaded not to participate in the battle. The enemy have taken on an abundance of stones and missiles to hurl from the vantage-point of the *húnkastalar*. The battle begins: the ship of Grégórífús runs aground and is attacked by Ívarr, son of Hákon magi. Grégórífús is wounded and his ship is about given up for lost, but is hauled free in the nick of time, whereupon he attacks and captures Ívarr's ship. Ívarr himself is seriously wounded, but Grégórífús sees that he is brought to land, and they were afterward friends. King Ingí, seeing the predicament of Grégórífús, enters the fray, and things are soon going badly with Hákon's fleet. His crews desert the smaller ships for the *knerrir* or the land. Erlingr skakki, who had directed his attack upon these larger ships, orders his *stafnbúar* to scale King Hákon's ship. They reply that the feat is attended with difficulty, especially as timbers set with iron (spikes?) barred the way. Erlingr himself entered the prow of his ship and directed the scaling-operations, which were crowned with complete success. Hákon and some of his crew escaped to land. Ingí left for Vík.

Now while I acknowledge that the connection of the battle of Elfarsker in the *fornaldarsögur* with the historical battle of 1159 can be no more than a hypothesis, it will be seen from the above sketch that the main features of this historical battle bear a certain resemblance to features contained in one or another or all versions of the legendary battle. That the popular tradition of this battle or combination of two battles in the *Elfarkvíslir*, in which Icelanders according to Snorris' testimony took a creditable part, should have taken on a form admitting of its use in *fornaldar* or *lygisögur* with change of names of persons, etc., is entirely credible and corresponds, so far as the *Hrómundar saga* is concerned, entirely with the way in which

this saga is shown to have made use of material from other literary traditions. The *Elfarvísur*, which, as Snorri's citation shows, must have been known in Iceland, are lost except for two stanzas, but it is by no means impossible that they may have been known to the author of the *Hrómundar saga*, as were the songs dealing with Ásmund's experience in the burial-mound and with Svanhvít and her lover. There is another reason for supposing that the author of the *Hrómundar saga* may have been the one making direct use of this tradition of events narrated in the *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs*, and that is in addition to the magnanimous way in which Grégórfús spares the life of his adversary Ívarr, which suggests the treatment accorded by Hrómundr to Helgi enn frækni, the brother of Hrǫngviðr, the fact that this battle is followed in the *Hrómundar saga* by a battle on the ice, which is the case also in the *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs*. Grégórfús himself was killed on the ice of the river Befja (Bävferån in Sweden),¹ and King Ingi was defeated and killed by Hákon's forces in a battle on the ice of the Christiania fjord by Ósló.² That the author of the *Hrómundar saga* has localized his battle on the ice of Vænir, following the tradition of another well-known legendary battle on the ice, does not at all invalidate this analogy. In the same connection it may be said that Ólaf's men after this conflict repair to Bergen.³ Now if comparison again be made with the *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs*, it will be noted that the (not always peaceful) incidents filling in the intervals between the conflicts mentioned are especially connected with Bergen.⁴ Bergen did not come into prominence until the latter part of the eleventh century,⁵ and it is a significant fact that it is not elsewhere mentioned in the *fornaldarsögur*. If my hypothesis be then right, that the author of the *Hrómundar saga* has made use of the tradition of historical events which are recounted to us in the *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs*, he is the originator of the legendary battle of Elfarsker, and the *Færeyinga saga* as well as other later versions have taken it directly or indi-

¹ *Hkr.*, III, 419 f.

² *Ibid.*, 421 ff.

³ *Griplur*, III, 61; that the reading of MS a is here correct we have already had occasion to demonstrate.

⁴ Cf. *Hkr.*, III, 402, 414, 415, 416.

⁵ Cf. Munch, *Historisk-geographisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge i Middelalderen*, pp. 30 f.

rectly from his saga, which must have become widely known before the close of the thirteenth century.

The question remains why the name Hrǫngviðr was chosen for the leader of the opposing viking-force. This name is not preserved elsewhere so far as I know; it might, however, from its makeup be understood as a typical giant's name¹ like the names Drymr and Hrungrnir, which latter is apparently a derivative from the same root as Hrǫngviðr,² and would mean "noise-maker," *Lärmer*. It need not however have been thought of at the outset as a giant's name, for names of similar meaning were often enough applied to boisterous human beings, to inveterate fighters, etc.³ In fact *hrungnir* itself is known as a person's by-name.⁴

The next incident, that of the contest with Helgi enn frækni, is loosely connected with the first through the account⁵ that Hrómundr finds Helgi wounded upon the hostile ship, that the latter upon being asked his name declares himself to be Helgi enn frækni, brother of Hrǫngviðr and that in spite of his defiance Hrómundr has him healed and allowed to go scot-free. In the statement (II, 18 f.) that he became *stafnbúi* of the two Swedish kings, both named Hadding, lies the first evidence of the contamination of Helgi enn frækni (or hvassi?) of the original Hrómundar saga with Helgi Haddingjaskati. There is then no further reference to Helgi until the episode of the plundering of Þráin's mound has been entirely disposed of and the love-story of Hrómundr and Svanhvít introduced. Then⁶ comes a repetition of the statement that Helgi was *stafnbúi* of the two Swedish kings, both named Hadding. These challenge Ólafr to a contest in the winter upon the ice of Lake Venern (*á Vænis' ís*). Hrómundr is disinclined

¹ Cf. *hrang*, *hrǫng*, n. "noise," Fritzner, *Ordbog*, II, 48, and Falk and Torp, *Etymologisk Ordbog*, II, 93 under substantive *rangle*; the name is already correctly explained by Sv. Eglisson, *Lexicon poeticum*, 386, *hraung*, 1860.

² Cf. Weinhold, *Riesen*, in *Sitz. ber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien., phil. hist.*, CI, XXVI (1858), p. 272, Anm.; Gering's explanation of this name ("der Träger der Keule," *Die Edda*, p. 357, n. 3) is hardly correct; cf. the horse's name *Slungnir*, and the shield-name *Gungnir* with the explanation given by Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV, 167, 210, 1903.

³ Cf., e.g., The Viga-Styrr known to several of the *Íslendingasögur*, *Eyrb.*, chap. 12, 8 with note.

⁴ *Landnámna*, ed. F. Jónsson p. 214 (cf. p. 101): *þorateinn hrungnir*.

⁵ *Griplur*, II, 9 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 23.

⁷ a has corrupted *Vænis* to *vænan*, but is correct in IV, 33 and VI, 27.

to take part in this battle because of his dissatisfaction at the undue influence of Bilðr and Váli at court, but is persuaded by Svanhvít, who gives him, as already mentioned, a shield, to at least accompany the expedition, where he sulks in his tent, but upon ascertaining that all his brothers have been slain, he is persuaded somewhat late, like Achilles,¹ to join in the fray, in which he soon proves the deciding factor. To follow farther the description of the battle is unnecessary, as it is in the main typical enough, nor is it easy to separate out just what belonged to the original conflict with Helgi enn frækni and what may have come in with Helgi Haddingjaskati. To the saga of the latter belongs at any rate the episode of the valkyrie Kára, to the Hrómundar saga undoubtedly most of the rest. The episode of the fight upon the ice was, as we were inclined to think, suggested by the tradition of the series of events told in the Hákonar saga herðibreids,² the localization of it upon the ice of Lake Venern is due to the influence of a legendary tradition, viz., that of the contest between Áli, king of Upplönd in Norway, and Aðils, king at Uppsala. This tradition was according to the express statement of Snorri³ included in the now lost Skjöldunga saga from about 1200,⁴ and this statement of Snorri is confirmed by excerpts made by the Iclander Arngrímur Jónsson in his "Rerum danicarum fragmenta" (finished 1597) from a later redaction of the Skjöldunga saga dating from shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century.⁵ The same tradition is again mentioned by Snorri in chap. 44 of the Skáldskaparmál⁶ and is alluded to in the still older Kálfs vísa (Alsvinsmál).⁷ In the Skjöldunga saga the tradition was brought into connection with the legend of Hrólfr kraki, in that Aðils sent to Hrólfr for assistance, the latter responding by sending his twelve *berserkir*, who were successful in gaining the day, but were cheated out of the

¹ The story of the Trojan war was known in Iceland through the Trójumanna saga (*Haukubók*, pp. 193 ff.) dating according to F. Jónsson (*Lit. hist.*, II, 867) from the middle of the thirteenth century or somewhat earlier.

² The fornaldarsögur present, it is true, other fights on the ice; cf., e.g., Saxo, p. 138 ff., *Fas.*, II, 412 ff.

³ *Ynglinga saga*, chap. 29 = *Hkr.*, I, 56.

⁴ Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 666.

⁵ Cf. Olrik, *Aarbøger*, 1894, 155; the episode in question is found in the Latin of Arngrímur Jónsson edited by Olrik in the same volume of the *Aarbøger*, p. 116.

⁶ *Sn. Ed.*, I, 394.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 482.

reward promised by Aðils. The late Hrólfs saga kraka of the fourteenth century¹ has completely lost the episode, the Bjarkarímur, on the other hand,² relate it in essentially the same way as the Skjöldunga saga.³ From the same source originated the name of Helgi's shield, *Finnsleif*, which⁴ was the name of the coat-of-mail invulnerable to weapons constituting one of the three treasures promised by Aðils to Hrólfr, if he render him the desired assistance.

Before killing Helgi, Hrómundr receives⁵ from the point of Helgi's sword a slash that lays open his abdomen⁶ and leaves his bowels hanging out. After disposing of Váli⁷ and resting a bit Hrómundr returns to his tent and kindles a fire (V, 21) and with the help of his knife and some bast-fibers undertakes the necessary surgical operation (V, 23 f.). Here Svanhvít finds him (V, 26). He requests her (V, 27) to nurse him back to health, which she in the original Hrómundar saga in all probability did;⁸ the *Griplur* show here the interpolation from the saga of Helgi Haddingjaskati, in that she refers him to Hagall and his wife (V, 28), to be nursed by them back to strength. Here follows the most considerable interpolation, readily recognizable and including most of the remainder of the *Griplur* (V, VI). The topography of this part of the story causes Boer⁹ considerable trouble, it is however in *Griplur* V, 25 expressly stated that the two sisters accompanied their brother to the scene of conflict, nor should it be forgotten that the sisters were originally valkyries.¹⁰ In fact a stanza contained in *W* and *d* (V, 27a in critical apparatus), which is evidently misplaced and should follow V, 25, expressly alludes to supernatural powers possessed by Svanhvít:

*Ferðast skal að frelsa hal,
ef finnast mætti tiggi;
eg kann val með vizku tal
vígja svó hann liggi.*

¹ Ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1904.

² VIII, 14 ff., ed. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 f.

³ Cf. on this episode Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 202 ff, 1903.

⁴ *Sn. Ed.*, I, 394.

⁵ *Griplur*, IV, 60.

⁶ He had upon being taunted by Helgi cast aside the shield given him by Svanhvít (*Griplur*, IV, 55 ff.).

⁷ *Griplur*, V, 15.

⁸ Cf. the evidence of the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*. *Fas.*, III, 363.

⁹ *PBB*, 22, 386, 1897.

¹⁰ Cf. also Kölbmg, *Beiträge*, 176, 1876.

The source of this surgical operation I am not prepared to give with certainty, but would call attention to the episode related by Saxo¹ of Starcatherus' contest with the nine berserkir, which according to Axel Olrik² rests upon Danish, not Icelandic legends. After disposing of all nine of his adversaries, with seventeen wounds³ and his bowels hanging out, he crept on his knees to a rock upon which he leaned to rest.⁴ Not even the great hero, Starcatherus, is able to sew himself up however, as does Hrómundr, but must seek assistance. He refuses assistance proffered by persons of unworthy station in life, allows finally however a youth, who declares himself to be the son of a peasant, to replace his intestines and bind them in with withes (*nexili viminum complexione*). Now there is, it must be confessed, no complete agreement in these episodes and the features which Olrik rightly recognizes as Danish in the Starcatherus episode are certainly lacking in that of Hrómundr; but one is inclined to question whether of the tales of Starkaðr told in Iceland there may not have been a corresponding one, which may well have been the source of this particular feature of the Hrómundar saga. The Gautreks saga⁵ contains too an allusion to difficulties between Starkaðr and twelve berserkir at Uppsala without detailing the almost inevitable conclusion; then also the statements of the same saga⁶ about Starkað's wounds after the conflict with Sísarr of Vænir are to be noted. That abundant remains of the Starkað-legends and songs survived in Icelandic tradition until well into the fourteenth century is certain.⁷ Our episode is in every way worthy of an Icelandic tradition of Starkaðr, or for that matter of one of the original elements in the Starkað-legends, which may have been known in the whole Scandinavian North.⁸ To appreciate the primitive barbarity of the heroic ideal presented in the narration of this episode one has

¹ Pp. 194 ff.

² *Saxoes Oldhistorie*, II, 222 ff.

³ Hrómundr had (*Griplur*, V, 17) according to W 14, according to a 15, according to d 17 wounds.

⁴ Hrómundr sat down upon the ice to rest (*Griplur*, V, 16).

⁵ Ed. Ranisch, pp. 32 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20; cf. also Neckel, *Beiträge zur Eddaforsehung*, p. 356, 1908.

⁷ Cf. besides the Gautreks saga Olrik, *Saxoes Oldhist.*, II, 78.

⁸ For the chronological development of the legends of Starkaðr cf. Axel Olrik in *Sproglige og historiske Afhandlinger* viede S. Bugges Minde, pp. 268 ff., 1908; *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, II, 1910.

but to compare it with the account of a similar operation furnished by the *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*,¹ which with its needle and silk-thread, its ointment, and its healing wash (*heilivágr*) brings us almost within sight of the modern operating room. This latter saga dates according to F. Jónsson² already from the thirteenth century; it gives however rather the impression of the early fourteenth.

Hrómund's adversary in the battle on the ice is called in the *Griplur Helgi enn frækni* with a very common by-name; Hölgi Kvass of the Norwegian ballad would indicate an Icelandic Helgi enn hvassi as its prototype. As this person is unfortunately not mentioned in the *Sturlunga*, it is impossible to say which of the two is to be accepted as the by-name given in the original *Hrómundar saga*, though the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* confirms that of the *Griplur*. As a matter of fact Helgis with both by-names are referred to elsewhere in Icelandic sources: Helgi enn frækni in the *Dorleifs páttur jarla-skálds*,³ Helgi en hvassi in Snorri's *Hálfðanar saga svarta*.⁴ The páttur is in the opinion of F. Jónsson⁵ from about the close of the thirteenth century. Helgi enn frækni was according to this source an Icelander, the second son of Ásgeirr rauðfeldr, and the páttur informs us that he played more of a rôle in other sagas. The statement that he was a son of Ásgeirr is confirmed however neither by a comparison with the *Svarfdœla saga*⁶ nor with the *Landnáma*,⁷ where the other sons of Ásgeirr are mentioned. The other sagas referred to must then in all probability have been fictitious ones and a contamination of some sort is probably responsible for his introduction into the páttur. Helgi enn hvassi is made out by Snorri to have been the father of Sigurðr hjörtr, legendary king in Hringaríki in Norway and husband of Áslaug, a grand-daughter of Ragnarr loðbrók; his great-grandson was then the Norwegian king, Haraldr hárfagri. The meagre information furnished us of these two legendary, or at any rate not historical personages, contains nothing whatever bearing

¹ Chap. 28, ed. Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 45 f.

² *Lit. hist.*, II, 822.

³ *Flat.*, I, 208 ff.

⁴ *Hkr.*, I, 90.

⁵ *Lit. hist.*, II, 760.

⁶ *Islenskar fornögur*, III, 40 f.; cf. also footnote and p. xxx.

⁷ Pp. 73 and 194.

upon the *Hrómundar saga* or anything therein narrated and must be dismissed as for our purpose valueless. An ostensibly historical Norwegian Helgi hvassi from the beginning of the thirteenth century is mentioned as a *forn Birkibeinn* in the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chap. 6 (*Icelandic Sagas*, II, 12; *Fms.*, IX, 243; *Flat.*, III, 10; *Cod. Fris.*, 393 f.; *Eirspennill*, 246 f.), but to demonstrate a relationship between him and the Hölge Kvass of the Norwegian ballad is likewise impossible.

There are still a few minor incidents referable in all probability to the original saga, whose direct sources are hard to demonstrate and which may well in their essential features have been invented by the author of the saga. Such is, for example, the meeting with the peasant Máni.¹ The scene of this is laid in the Hebrides, if *suðr til eyja* in *Griplur*, II, 21 is to be thus understood, which seems very probable.² Here Hrómundr and his men harry and plunder. While driving down on one island horses, goats, and cows they are addressed defiantly by a *kall*, who gives his name as Máni ("Moon") and informs them that the plundering of the homes of simple peasants is a small business compared with the possibility of plundering Dráin's mound. His cattle are returned to him on condition that he furnish the necessary information about this mound and its whereabouts, which he accordingly does. The episodes in which the fornaldarsögur-kings are brought into contact with peasants are numerous and varied and need not be further commented on here. An episode which may well have suggested this incident to the author of the *Hrómundar saga* occurs in the *Jómsvíkinga saga*.³ The essential features of this episode upon which all versions are approximately agreed are that the *Jómsvíkingar* on their expedition up Norway's western coast, having passed the peninsula of Stað, sought provisions in the way of fresh meat at the island of Høð. Here they met a peasant driving cows and goats, who said his name was Úlfr. Vagn

¹ *Griplur*, II, 20 ff.

² *Suðreyjar* was the Old Norse name of the Hebrides; cf. further *vestir um haf* in the preceding line.

³ Original version, dating according to Jónsson (*Lit. hist.*, II, 664 f.) from the beginning of the thirteenth century. As the different versions of this saga preserved vary somewhat, I cite them all: *Hkr.*, I, 327 f.; *Flat.*, I, 186 f.; *Jómsvíkinga saga*, ed. Cederschiöld, Lund, 1875, p. 27; ed. C. af Petersens, Lund, 1879, pp. 67 ff.; Copenhagen, 1882, pp. 106 f.; Latin translation by Arngrímur Jónsson, ed. A. Gjessing, Kristianssand, 1877, p. 41.

Ákason ordered his cattle driven to the boat; the peasant asks the name of the leader, and upon ascertaining it informs them that there is better game than cows or goats (a bear according to Snorri and ed. Petersens 1879) within close reach (Hákon jarl's fleet was in the Hjørungavágr near by unbeknown to the Jómsvíkingar). Vagn promises to return his cattle if he will furnish information as to Hákon's whereabouts and the size of his fleet. He does so, giving false information in the latter particular and is ordered on board to act as guide. Upon coming within sight of the Norwegian fleet he jumps overboard, but is killed by a spear cast by Vagn. One is further reminded of this episode by words reputed to have been directed by King Sveinn of Denmark to King Haraldr harðráði of Norway;¹ "*ok mun yðr þetta vera nokkoru meiri frami, þótt konungr sé eigi mikill fyrir sér, at beriaz við hann heldr enn taka kálfa eða kið eða gripi manna, sem þér hafit jafnan gort hér í Danmörk.*"² The name of the peasant, Máni, needs no special comment: it was a common Old Norse name, appearing in runic inscriptions and other historical sources; it need only be stated that it does not occur elsewhere in the fornaldarsögur.

Another minor episode has caused some little misunderstanding because so corrupted in the seventeenth century *Hrómundar saga*, viz., the episode connected with the dog, Hrókr,³ already alluded to. In this is related that after Hrómund's return from the viking-expedition culminating in the exploit at Drain's mound he was greatly celebrated and a certain man, *Grundi þegn*, gave him a dog Hrókr, in return for which Hrómundr presented him a very valuable gold ring. Váli killed the dog at night, for which malicious deed Hrómundr vowed vengeance. The purpose of this not very complex episode is to illustrate the general villainy of Váli and its exact counterpart need hardly be sought elsewhere. Rings as gifts are as common in Icelandic as in other mediaeval literatures. Among the somewhat remarkable exchanges of gifts related of Gjafa-Refr in the *Gautreks saga* it is told that he gave King Ella of England a gold ring and

¹ *Morkinskinna*, ed. Unger, p. 56 f.; cf. *Flat.*, III, 340.

² Cf. also Neckel, *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, I, 118, 436, though I am unable to subscribe to the relationship of sources suggested by Neckel.

³ *Griplur*, IV, 3 ff.

received in return two dogs and a ship besides.¹ Grundi is again a not uncommon Old Norse name.

The villainy of Váli is further characterized, and his supernatural powers as well, in the episode connected with the loss of Hrómund's sword in the depths of Lake Venern.² After the conclusion of the battle with Helgi, Hrómundr catches sight of a large man standing upon the ice and notes that this man has surrounded himself with a magic circle scratched in the ice and concludes that the man must be Váli. He leaps accordingly over this magic ring and attacks Váli, who blows the sword out of his hand, so that it goes flying over the ice until it falls through a crack into the water and sinks to the bottom. Hrómundr, though handicapped by the loss of his good sword, attacks none the less and succeeds in breaking his adversary's neck. The recovery of the sword,³ though transferred in the rimur to the part interpolated from the saga of Helgi Haddingjaskati, may be postulated for the original saga of Hrómundr, in that any supernatural powers here attributed to Hagal's wife were there certainly attributed to Svanhvít. A fisherman (in this case the peasant Hagall) catches one day a pike (*gedda*), in whose belly the sword Mistiltein is found. That valuable objects thrown into or otherwise lost in the water are recovered by a feat of diving is elsewhere related. Detter⁴ compares an incident in the Hrólfs saga kraka, as we have already noted in another connection, a gold ring being thus recovered, and Boer⁵ an incident of the Ásmundar saga kappabana,⁶ where it is told how the hero, Ásmundr, with the help of a peasant succeeded in bringing up from the bottom of the water at Agnafit a sword sunk there by King Buðli. If the episode of the Hrómundar saga is related to either of these two, it is to the latter, but the whole circumstances of the two cases are so entirely different, as are also the methods employed to secure the sword, that there really remains no point of contact.⁷ With reference to

¹ *Gautreks saga*, ed. Ransch, pp. 40 f.; cf. p. lxiv.

² *Griplur*, V, 8 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 32 ff.

⁴ *PBB*, 18, 99 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 22, 385, footnote.

⁶ Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 83, 87 ff.

⁷ Cf. further the account of Angantyr's recovery of the sword Tyrflingr in the *Hervarar saga*, Bugge, *Norrøne Skrifter*, p. 345.

Váli's evil spell upon the ice it should be noted, if a connection of the *Hrómundar saga* with the historical events narrated in the *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs* is to be maintained, that the ice upon which Grégóríús Dagsson met his death had been tampered with by his enemies, that they had made holes in it, whose presence was concealed by new snow. This feature may well have suggested an incident of the *Hrómundar saga* which has reached us through the *Griplur* in the episode here related of Váli. The only other feature of this episode requiring accounting for is the power of Váli to cast a magic spell upon a portion of the ice and to blow the sword from his adversary's hand, supernatural powers as will be at once noted belonging to the realm of the lower mythology. In just this same way does Grímr ægir of the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*¹ disarm his adversary; so does also Flóki in the *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar*.² For the spell which Váli casts upon the ice surrounding himself I know no exact Old Norse parallel, though it is entirely of the sort made possible by magic and it is expressly stated that Hrómundr recognizes in it the work of "*Voli galdra kallinn*," i.e., Váli who was versed in incantations. In fact the citations which Fritzner³ gives of *reitr* in its original meaning of "rids, fure, fordybning som gjøres med et skarpt redskab ved at *rita*" all show a certain ceremonial relation: in the first case⁴ to legal procedure, in the second,⁵ to the *hólmanga*, in the third⁶ as a magic means of securing the presence and help of the devil, while in the fourth⁷ it is a means employed by Þrándr to summon back the souls of certain dead by way of ascertaining the means of their death. In both of these last cases the number of scratches is 9, as opposed to 2 in the first and 3 in the second case cited. The *Griplur* have *reitr* here only in the singular and as it is also called⁸ *hringur*, we must here at least conceive of it as circular. The special advantage gained by Váli through this magic circle is not wholly clear, but as it is previously stated⁹ that his comrade Bildr was killed in the battle, but

¹ *Fas.*, III, 244.

² *Ibid.*, 459.

³ *Ordbog*, III, 69 f.

⁴ *Grágas*, ed. Finson (1852), I, 72^{ss}.

⁵ *Kormaks saga*, ed. Möbius (1886), p. 20^{ss}.

⁶ *Martu saga*, ed. Unger, pp. 147 f., 730, 737.

⁷ *Færeyinga saga*, *Flat.*, I, 556.

⁸ *Griplur*, V, 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 35.

that no one saw Váli, it may perhaps be inferred that he had thus made himself invisible, a trick not uncommon with those versed in Norse magic. As the battle ceases he again renders himself visible and Hrómundr, angered by his cowardice, attacks him. That the magic ring was conceived of as otherwise protecting Váli from attack is rendered improbable by the fact that Hrómundr leaps over it with impunity, while the blowing of the weapon out of his hand is another of Váli's resources for self-defense quite independent of the magic circle.

There remains yet to be considered the nature of the poetic portions of the original saga, borne witness to alike by the statement in Sturlunga and the explicit reference to such in the Griplur. The latter references are noted by Kölbing.¹ The allusions noted are *Griplur*, I, 30: *vísur margar*; I, 39: *vísur nógar*; II, 26: *kvæða ræður*. To these is to be added IV, 7: *Vella Týr til vísu tók*. The first case has reference to the vituperations exchanged between Kári and Hrongviðr, the second to similar verses exchanged on the occasion of the ensuing conflict, the third to verses exchanged between King Ólafr and the peasant Máni, the fourth to a single stanza directed by Hrómundr at Váli after the latter had killed the dog, Hrókr. This is already enough to confirm the *margar vísur* assigned to the saga by the Sturlunga,² but there were doubtless many more. Using the general nature of these as a key, it is entirely safe to infer that at least other similar exchanges of defiance are based likewise upon groups of *lausavísur*: so, e.g., the remarks exchanged between Hrómundr and Þráinn, III, 11 ff., and those passed between Hrómundr and Helgi on the occasion of their conflict, IV, 50 ff., as perhaps also much of the rest of what appears as direct discourse in the Griplur. There is every reason to suppose that these *vísur* found by the author of the Griplur were essentially the same as those referred to by the editor of the Sturlunga, i.e., that they with perhaps some exceptions, date from the original composition of the Hrómundar saga of the last half of the thirteenth century. That they are older than this is precluded not only by the statement of the Sturlunga, which seems to imply that they were composed by the author of the saga, but also

¹ *Beiträge*, pp. 162 f., 165.

² P. 22.

by their own nature, as they were *lausavísur*, either single or in groups, having no meaning except in connection with the saga.

If we may recapitulate briefly the results of our investigation of the sources of the *Hrómundar saga*, they are the proof that the *Hrómundar saga* is a *lygisaga* as it is styled by the editor of the *Sturlunga*, that its author had no heroic tradition of *Hrómundr* before him, that starting from a historical or quasi-historical tradition of *Ingólfr*, the reputed great-grandson of a Norwegian *Hrómundr Gripsson*, he decked out this meagre suggestion with the help of an older song dealing with *Ásmund's* experience in his foster-brother's burial-mound, added a love-story suggested by an old song about *Svanhvít* and her lover and further incidents perhaps inspired by traditions of the battle described in the *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs*, a reminiscence of a *Starkað*-legend and lesser motifs, names, etc., furnished him in abundance by Scandinavian literary traditions and popular superstitions. With this the general features of its style are sufficiently indicated. The elements of chivalry introduced into later *lygisögur* from the translated literature of European chivalry are lacking, as are also the many European and other foreign names of this latter class. These features correspond chronologically with the other grounds which influenced us to regard it as a work of the latter half of the thirteenth century. It corresponds in fact stylistically and in its contents very closely with the *Friðþjófs saga* and may with this saga¹ be regarded as one of the first-fruits of the Icelandic literary direction which produced the *lygisögur norðlanda* on the model of the later *fornaldarsögur*.

In concluding it is a sincere pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. Kr. Kålund, curator of the Arnamagnæan collection of manuscripts in the University Library in Copenhagen, who has very kindly rendered me various assistance in the use of manuscripts and otherwise, and to Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, curator of the Fisk Icelandic Library of Cornell University, who has read my manuscript and offered me various suggestions.

A. LEROY ANDREWS

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

¹ Cf. Orlík, *Saknes Oldhist.*, I, 12, 1892.



The Summer Quarter
of
The University of Chicago
1913

PRELIMINARY LIST
OF COURSES



A Circular giving complete
information will be issued about March 1
and will be sent on request

GENERAL INFORMATION

The Organization of the University includes: the Graduate School of Arts and Literature; the Ogden (Graduate) School of Science; the Colleges (Senior and Junior) of Arts, Literature, and Science; the Divinity School, the Law School, Courses in Medicine, the College of Education, the College of Commerce and Administration.

Faculty, Endowment, and Equipment.—The faculty numbers three hundred and thirty-seven; the libraries contain 381,351 books and 195,000 pamphlets (estimated). The University owns 90 acres of land in Chicago and has 35 buildings.

Location of the University.—The University grounds lie on both sides of the Midway Plaisance between Washington and Jackson parks, six miles south of the center of Chicago. Electric cars, elevated trains, and the Illinois Central suburban service reach all railway stations.

The University Year is divided into quarters: the Autumn (October to December); the Winter (January to March); the Spring (April to the middle of June); the Summer (middle of June to August). Students are admitted at the opening of each quarter; graduation exercises are held at the close of each quarter.

Admission to Colleges and Schools.—Students must present satisfactory evidence of the completion of a four years' course in an acceptable high school or academy in order to be admitted to candidacy for the Bachelor's degrees. Graduate students must possess Bachelor's degrees from accredited colleges. Qualified students over twenty-one may be admitted as unclassified students.

The Unit of Work and of Credit is a major, i.e., a course of instruction involving four or five recitations or lecture hours per week for a full quarter, or double that number of hours for a term of six weeks. A minor is one-half a major. Normal work is three majors per quarter, or nine per year of three quarters.

Degrees.—In the Graduate Schools are conferred the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts, of Science, and of Philosophy; in the Colleges, the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, of Science, of Philosophy; in the Divinity School, the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Philosophy; in the Law School, the degrees of Doctor of Laws and Bachelor of Laws; in the College of Education, the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Philosophy, or Science, in Education.

Tuition, Fees, etc.—The regular fee for three major courses in Arts, Literature, and Science, and in the College of Education is \$40 per quarter. All students pay once a matriculation fee of \$5. In Law and Medicine, the fees are \$50 and \$60.

Cost of Living.—In University dormitories rooms rent from \$25 to \$75 per quarter. The charge for table-board in the women's halls is \$4.50 per week. At Hutchinson Hall (*à la carte* service) board costs from \$3.50 per week upward. Board and lodging may be had at the same or even lower rates outside the University.

Fellowships, Scholarships, Student Service, etc.—By virtue of endowments and special appropriations, fellowships and honor scholarships and service afford stipends or free tuition to a number of able and deserving students. Further information is contained in a circular entitled *Assistance to Students*, which will be sent upon request.

THE SUMMER QUARTER

These Announcements are provisional and incomplete. A detailed circular will be issued about March 1.

The Calendar for 1913.—The First Term begins Monday, June 16, and closes Wednesday, July 23; the Second Term begins Thursday, July 24, and ends Friday, August 29, the Autumn Convocation being held on the afternoon of that day.

A Quarter of Regular Work for Credit.—In the personnel of the teaching staff, in scope and methods of instruction, and in credit-value the work of the Summer Quarter ranks with that of the other quarters of the academic year.

Precaution about Gaining Admission.—Undergraduate students should make sure that they are eligible for admission before they leave home for Chicago. Persons thus failing to make arrangements in advance may be rejected or directed to the University High School. Graduate students should inquire in advance as to their eligibility for registration in the Graduate Schools. Application in writing should be made to the University Examiners.

Limitation of Work, etc.—The student is limited to three minor courses for each term, or to three major courses for both terms. In special cases permission may be obtained from the deans to pursue an additional course, for which in the case of undergraduate students, a supplementary fee must be paid. Graduate and Law students are given larger privileges, and students in the College of Education may add one of the arts without additional fee.

Graduate Study.—College professors and school teachers, clergymen, and members of other professions, holding Bachelor's degrees from accepted colleges, may avail themselves of the facilities of the University to pursue advanced studies under the guidance of research professors in all the chief departments of investigation.

Biblical and Theological Study.—The Divinity School offers to professors of theology, to theological students, to ministers, to religious workers, and to others interested in biblical and theological study, introductory and advanced courses in all its departments. See p. 11.

Professional Courses in Law.—Students beginning the study of law, those in the midst of their professional studies at Chicago or elsewhere, and practicing lawyers are offered work of a thorough and systematic character. See p. 14.

Courses in Medicine.—College seniors planning to study medicine, students in medical schools, and practitioners will find the summer course in medicine admirably adapted to their needs. The Summer Quarter is of especial value to students who need to review and to make up work. See p. 16.

Educational Principles and Methods.—The courses of all departments have a bearing upon the work of teaching, but the courses of the College of Education are peculiarly adapted to the professional needs of teachers, both in primary and secondary schools. The work in the various shops affords unusually complete instruction in the industrial arts and crafts. See p. 11.

Public Lectures.—A series of public lectures, concerts, and other forms of entertainment is scheduled throughout the Summer Quarter, and affords opportunity to students to hear speakers of eminence and artists of distinction.

Chicago in Summer.—An agreeable summer temperature, spacious parks, notable libraries and museums, great industrial plants, typical foreign colonies, a number of Settlements, and other significant social institutions make Chicago a peculiarly appropriate center for study and investigation.



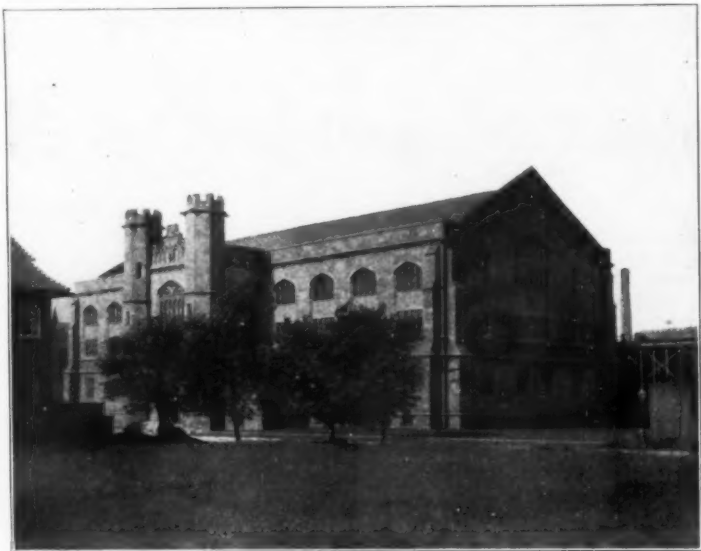
COBB HALL AND MEN'S DORMITORIES



WOMEN'S HALLS



HUTCHINSON COMMONS, MITCHELL TOWER, AND THE REYNOLDS CLUB



BARTLETT GYMNASIUM

Excursion Parties.—It has been customary, especially in the South, to organize special excursion parties for the journey to Chicago. The University will be glad to put inquirers into communication with the organizers of such parties.

ARTS, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE

NOTE.—The following condensed paragraphs contain hardly more than titles of courses. No systematic attempt is made to indicate (a) the character of the courses; (b) to what types of students they are open; (c) what prerequisites are demanded; or (d) at what hours the classes meet. All details are given in the complete announcements, which will be mailed promptly to all who apply to the UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

Philosophy, Psychology, and Education.—Courses will be offered in Metaphysics, in Ethics, and in the History of Philosophy; in Elementary and Advanced Psychology, in Genetic and Experimental Psychology, in Educational Psychology, in the History of Education, in School Organization and Administration, in the Formation of the Curriculum, in the Relation of the Arts to the Course of Study, in Industrial Education, in Child-Study, and in the Pedagogy of the various subjects of the school course.

Political Economy, Political Science, History, Sociology and Anthropology, and Household Administration.—Courses will be offered in the Principles of Political Economy, in Transportation, in Taxation, in Public Finance, in Statistics, in Values, in Distribution of Wealth, and in Money; in Constitutional Law; in Ancient History, in Mediaeval and Modern History [Church and State], in English History, Political and Industrial, in American Constitutional History, and in various periods of Political and Industrial History, also Teacher's Course in American History; in Archaeology and Anthropology, in the Fundamental Ideas of Sociology, in the Growth of Sociological Method, in Rural Sociology, in Social Technology; in the Chemistry of Food Preparations, in Home Economics, in House Sanitation, and in the Legal and Economic Aspects of Household Administration.

Semitics and Biblical Greek.—Courses will be offered in the Interpretation of the Old Testament, in Elementary and Advanced Hebrew, in Assyrian and Egyptian Languages, and in History; and in New Testament History.

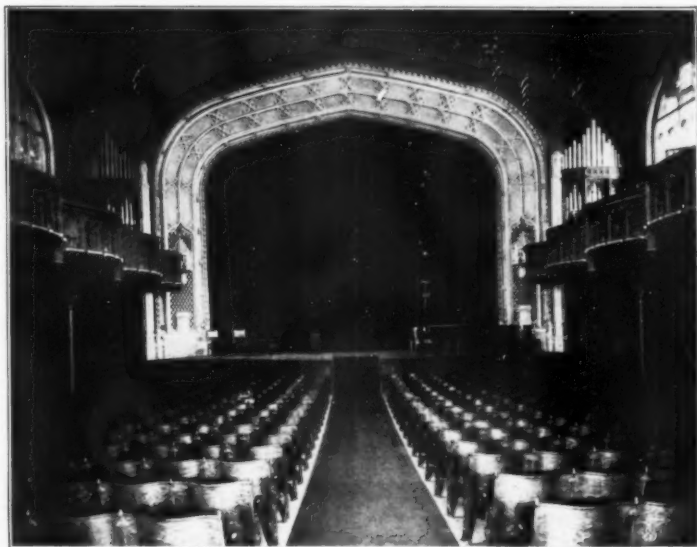
Comparative Religion.—Courses will be offered in the Outline History of Religion and in the Philosophy of Religion.

History of Art, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.—Courses will be offered in Prehistoric Art in Greece, in Greek Architecture, in Roman Sculpture, in Roman Coins, in an Introduction to the Study of Art, and in Flemish and Dutch Painting; in Elementary Sanskrit, in the Study of the Veda, in Hindu Religion, in Indo-European Comparative Philology, in an Introduction to the Study of Language, and in Outlines of Latin Historical Grammar; in Beginning Greek, in Anabasis, in Homer, Iliad and Odyssey, in Plato's Apology, in an Introduction to Greek Tragedy, in Aristotle's Poetics, in Lyric Poetry, in Isocrates, and in the Public Orations of Demosthenes; in Cicero, De Senectute, De finibus, Academica, and De Natura deorum, in Terence, the Phormio, in Livy, in Horace, Odes and Epodes, in Catullus, in Juvenal, in Virgil's Aeneid, with especial reference to the technique, in Ovid, Metamorphoses, in Horace, Satires, in Roman Private Life, in Colloquial Latin, and in the Training of Teachers, first-year work in the Training of Teachers, course in Caesar, and in the Comparative Syntax of the Greek and Latin Verb.

Modern Languages.—Courses will be offered in Old English, in Middle English, in various periods of English Literature, and in English Composition; in Elementary and Intermediate French, in Old French Literature, in various

periods of later French Literature, in Phonetics, in French Grammar, in Spanish, and in Italian; in Elementary and Intermediate German, in the History of German Literature, in Recent German Literature and Drama, in Gothic, and in Middle High German; in Dante in English, and in the Short Story in various literatures.

Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, and Chemistry.—Courses will be offered in Trigonometry, College Algebra, Plane Analytic Geometry, Graphic Analysis, Differential and Integral Calculus, in Advanced Calculus, in Theory of Functions, also Synoptic Course in Higher Mathematics; Definite Integrals, Differential

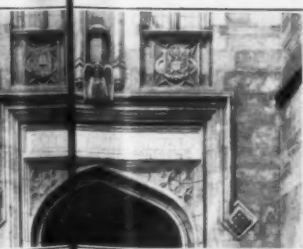


AUDITORIUM OF LEON MANDEL ASSEMBLY HALL

Geometry, Theory of Physical Units, Theory of Numbers, Vector Analysis, General Analysis, and Reading and Research in Pure and Applied Mathematics; Descriptive Astronomy, Introduction to Celestial Mechanics, Analytic Mechanics, Research work at the Yerkes Observatory; Theoretical Optics, Light Waves and Their Uses, Advanced Spectroscopy, Relativity, Electron Theory, Research, work, Graduate laboratory work, Electric Waves, Mechanics, Molecular Physics and Heat, Electricity, Sound, and Light, and Physical Manipulation, two Courses for Teachers; Elementary General Chemistry; General Inorganic Chemistry, Elementary and Advanced Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis, Special Methods of Analysis, Elementary Organic Chemistry, Advanced Organic Preparations, Advanced Inorganic Preparations, Elementary and Advanced Physical Chemistry, Advanced Physico-chemical Measurements, Research in Organic, Inorganic, and Physical Chemistry.



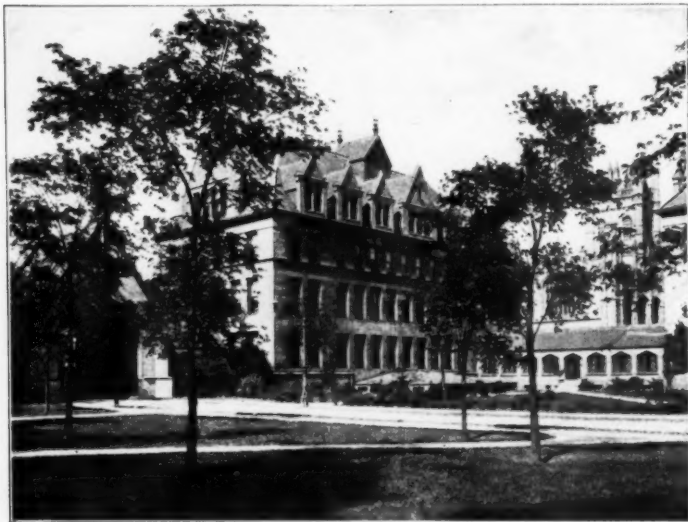
WILLIAM RAINEY HARRER



Geology and Geography.—Courses will be offered in Physiography, in General Geology, in Economic Geology, in Elementary Mineralogy and Petrology, and several Field Courses for students of different stages of advancement; in the Conservation of Natural Resources, in the Geography of Europe, in Geographic Influences on American History, in Advanced and Elementary Commercial Geography, and perhaps in Anthropogeography.

The Biological Departments.—At the Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole, Mass., courses in Zoölogy, Embryology, Botany, Physiological Chemistry, General and Comparative Physiology, and Biological Research, will be offered, for which credit is allowed in the University.

At the University of Chicago courses will be offered in Elementary Zoölogy, in Elementary Economic Field Zoölogy, in Experimental Behavior and Ecology,



HULL BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY AND MITCHELL TOWER

in Animal Geography, in Vertebrate and Invertebrate Zoölogy, in Genetics and Experimental Evolution, in Microscopical Technique, and advanced work in Zoölogy, including research, and in Embryology; in Introductory Anatomy; in Topographical Anatomy, Histology, in Anatomy of the Ear, Nose, and Throat, and in advanced research work; in Introductory Physiology, in Physiology of Digestion, Metabolism, Absorption, etc., in Physiology of Mammals, in Physiology of the Organs of Internal Secretion, in Research, and review courses in Physiology; in Teaching Botany in the High School, in Research in Morphology, in Special Morphology of Gymnosperms, in Research in Ecology, in Elementary Ecology, in Research in Taxonomy, in Classification of Vascular Plants, in General Morphology of Thallophytes, in Methods in Plant Histology, in Growth and Movement, in Research in Plant Physiology, in Elementary Plant Pathology, in Elementary Botany, and in Ecological Anatomy; in General Pathology and

Pathological Histology, in the Pathogenic Bacteria, in Sanitary Water Analysis, and in Research in Pathology and in Bacteriology.

Public Speaking.—Courses will be offered in Elementary and Advanced work in Public Speaking, with particular stress on the Vocal Interpretation of Literature, Oral Composition, and the pedagogy of both subjects as applied to High-School and College curricula.

THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

The School of Education of the University of Chicago consists of four divisions: (1) The Graduate Department of Education; (2) The College of Education; (3) The University High School; (4) The University Elementary School.

The Graduate Department of Education gives advanced courses in principles and theory of education, educational psychology, history of education, and social and administrative aspects of education. The Master's degree and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy are conferred.

The College of Education is a College of the University, with all the University privileges, and in addition provides the professional training of elementary and secondary school teachers and supervisors. It offers undergraduate courses in professional subjects and in the methods of arranging and presenting the various subject-matters which are taken up in the elementary and secondary schools. Certain of these courses can be completed in two years and lead to certificates; other courses cover a period of four years and lead to a Bachelor's degree.

The University High School with the fully equipped shops of the Manual Training School is in session during the Summer Quarter. Opportunity is offered to take beginning courses in Latin and German and to review courses in Mathematics, English, and History. The regular shopwork supplemented by discussions of methods is open to teachers pursuing these courses.

The University Elementary School.—Only the kindergarten department of the Elementary School is in session during the first term of the Summer Quarter. This offers an opportunity for observation.

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE GRADUATE DEPARTMENT AND IN THE COLLEGE

Courses in the Pedagogy of History and Literature in the Grades, in Home Economics, in English, in Mathematics, Physics, Geography, the Biological Sciences, School Library Economics; also in Oral Reading and in Hygiene and Physical Education, in Kindergarten Theory and Practice, in Children's Reading, in Aesthetic and Industrial Arts, in Household Art, and Review Courses in various subjects in the High School, will be offered, in addition to those named on p. 3.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL

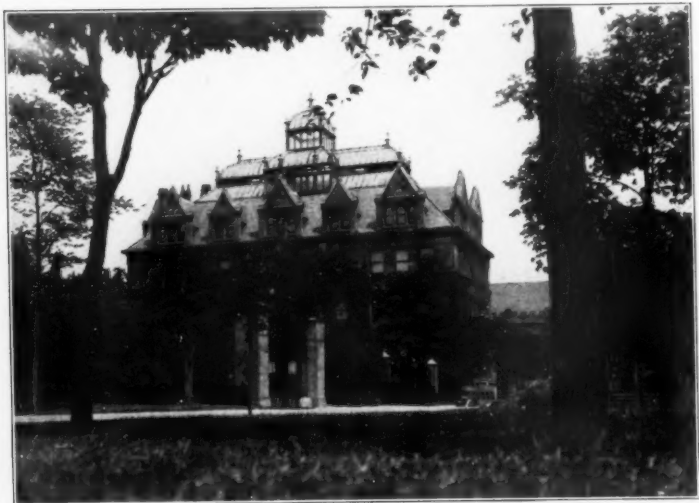
Admission.—The Divinity School is open to students of all denominations. The instruction is intended for ministers, missionaries, theological students, Christian teachers, and others intending to take up some form of religious work.

The English Theological Seminary is intended for those without college degrees. It is in session only during the Summer Quarter.

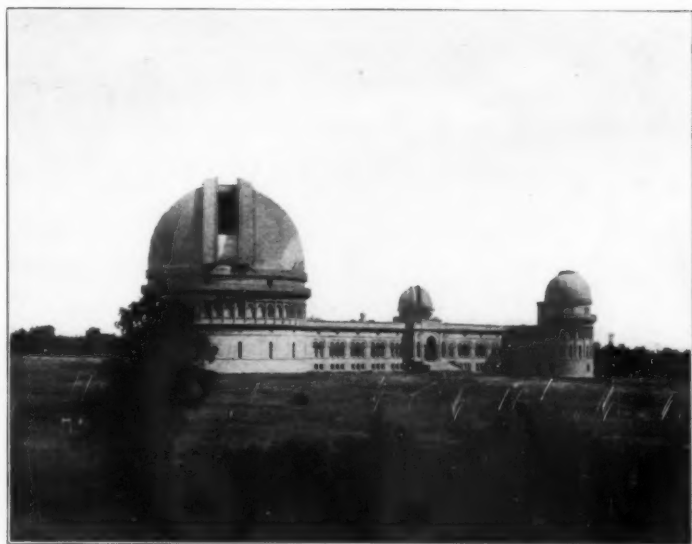
The Graduate Divinity School is designed primarily for college graduates. Pastors, theological teachers, students in other seminaries, and candidates for the ministry with requisite training are admitted in the Summer Quarter.



RYERSON PHYSICAL LABORATORY



HULL BOTANICAL LABORATORY



YERKES OBSERVATORY



THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Expenses.—No tuition fee is charged in the Summer Quarter. Incidental and library fees to the amount of \$5 are charged, and matriculants pay the usual \$5 fee. Dormitory rooms cost \$8.75 to \$12.75 per quarter; table-board about \$3 per week in clubs or families.

In addition to the courses referred to on p. 3 there will be offered courses in Old and New Testament, in Biblical Theology, in Systematic Theology, in Church History, in Homiletics, in Religious Education, in Ecclesiastical Sociology, in Music, and in Public Speaking. Courses will be offered also in the Disciples' Divinity House.

THE LAW SCHOOL

Scope of Work.—The work of the Law School is intended for students whose education and maturity have fitted them to pursue serious professional study. The method of instruction employed—the study and discussion of cases—is designed to give an effective knowledge of legal principles, and to develop the power of independent legal reasoning. The three-year course of study offered constitutes a thorough preparation for the practice of law in any English-speaking jurisdiction. By means of the quarter system students may be graduated in two and one-fourth calendar years.

The Summer Quarter.—Regular courses of instruction counting toward a degree are continued through the Summer Quarter. Either advanced or beginning students may enter the school in the summer, and continue in the Autumn or in the next Summer Quarter. The courses are so arranged that students may take one, two, or three quarters in succession in the summer only, before continuing in a following Autumn Quarter. The summer work offers particular advantages to teachers, to students who wish to do extra work, and to practitioners who desire to study special subjects.

Building and Library.—The Law School occupies a building erected especially for it within the University quadrangles, and is equipped with a law library containing about 38,000 volumes.

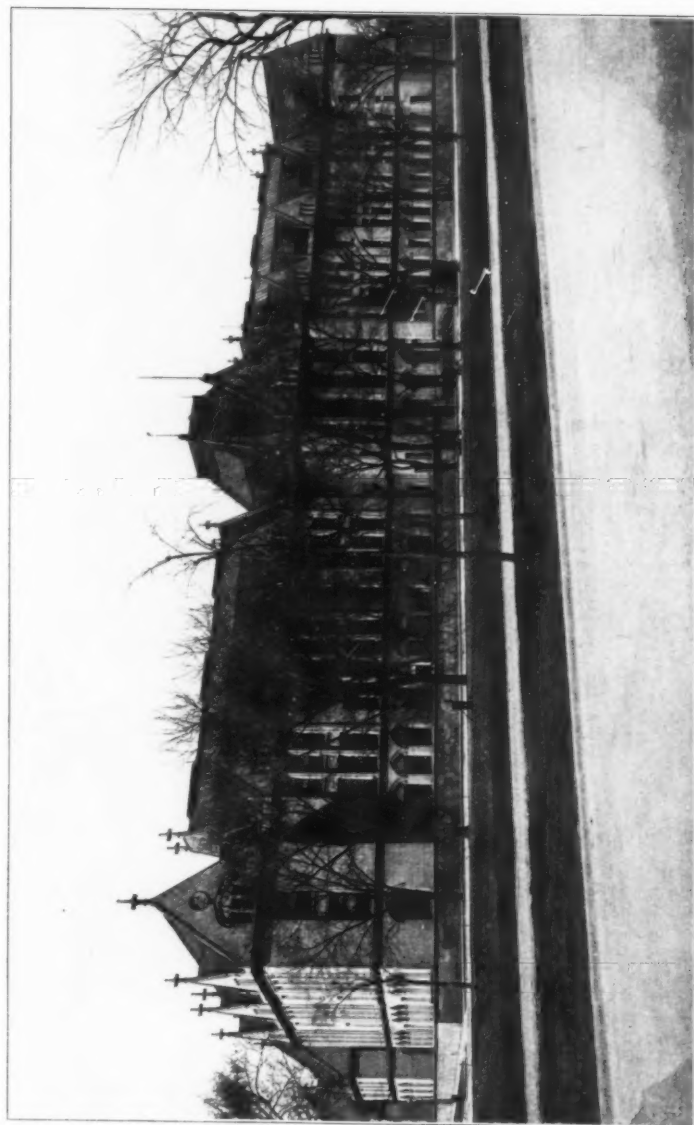
Admission Requirements and Degrees.—Only college graduates or students who have had college work equivalent to three years in the University of Chicago are admitted as regular students, candidates for the degree of Doctor of Law (J.D.). The University permits one year of law to be counted as the fourth year of college work, making it possible to obtain both degrees in six years.

Students over twenty-one years old who have completed at least a four-year high-school course may be admitted as candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.), but must maintain a standing 10 per cent above the passing mark. In rare instances students over twenty-one who cannot meet these requirements will be admitted as unclassified, not candidates for a degree.

Fees.—A matriculation fee of \$5 is required of every student entering for the first time. The tuition fee is \$50 a quarter (\$25 a term).

All correspondence concerning the Law School should be addressed to JAMES P. HALL, Dean of the University of Chicago Law School, Chicago, Ill.

Courses Offered.—During the Summer, 1913, the Law School will offer courses in: Contracts, Criminal Law, Title to Real Estate, Damages, Constitutional Law, Mortgages, Wills, Sales, and Trusts.



THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

COURSES IN MEDICINE

First Two Years of the Medical Course.—Courses in Medicine constituting the first two years of the four-year course in medicine of Rush Medical College are given at the University of Chicago. For the majority of students taking up medical work for the first time, it is of decided advantage to enter with the Summer or the Autumn Quarter. For the student who is lacking in any of the admission courses, or who seeks advanced standing, it is of especial advantage to enter for the Summer Quarter.

Requirements for Admission.—The requirements for admission comprise (a) fifteen units of high-school work, demanded for admission to the Junior Colleges of the University, and (b) two years of college work, which must have included at least four majors of college chemistry, including both inorganic and organic, and qualitative analysis (in addition to the year of high-school chemistry), one major of college biology with laboratory work, two majors of college physics, and a reading knowledge of German or French. Admission to advanced standing is granted students from other recognized institutions under suitable restrictions. *The inclusive fee in the Medical Courses is \$60 per quarter.*

Courses for Practitioners.—All the courses offered are open to practitioners of medicine, who may matriculate as unclassified or as graduate students. No student may register for a particular course unless he has had the prerequisite work. Attention is called to the fact that certain courses of special value to practitioners are given in the summer. Practitioners taking this work are free to attend the clinics at Rush Medical College without charge.

Courses in Medicine will be found listed on p. 10.

VARIOUS UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES

UNIVERSITY PUBLIC LECTURES

By means of public lectures and entertainments of an educational character the University presents many opportunities for culture and instruction apart from the work of the laboratory and the classroom. The lectures are delivered by eminent scholars. Concerts or recitals will be given Tuesday evenings and popular lectures Friday evenings throughout the Summer Quarter.

CORRESPONDENCE-STUDY DEPARTMENT

The teachers and students who for any reason cannot come into residence during the summer or other quarters may study under the direct personal guidance of University instructors who conduct by correspondence more than three hundred and twenty-five of the classroom courses. The tuition fee is \$16 for one major, \$30 for two, and \$40 for three. Work may begin at any time.

Bulletin of Recent Publications of
The University of Chicago Press

1913



AGENTS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY, New York

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, London and Edinburgh

TH. STAUFFER, Leipzig

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto

Bulletin of Recent Publications of *The University of Chicago Press*

The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties. Studies in Constitutional History and Politics. By Andrew C. McLaughlin, Professor of History in the University of Chicago.

308 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postpaid \$1.63

A volume of peculiar interest at this time, when the courts and political parties are subject to general criticism. The discussion is especially significant as coming from a lifelong student of constitutional questions, whose work at the University of Michigan, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and as head of the Department of History in the University of Chicago, is so widely known. The point of view is historical. Though the articles are scientific they are directed to the reader who is interested in public affairs rather than to the professional student. The work consists of five papers, the first of which discusses the power of a court to declare a law unconstitutional. Two of the papers deal with the growth and essential character of political parties, and are followed by one on the history of differing theories of the federal Union. The work concludes with a discussion of the written constitution in some of its historical aspects, taking up the origin of these documents and the problems of their maintenance and interpretation in the development of the modern popular state.

The Mechanistic Conception of Life. Biological Essays by Jacques Loeb, Head of the Department of Experimental Biology, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

238 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postpaid \$1.65

The achievements of Professor Jacques Loeb in the field of experimental biology have made him so widely known as to insure any book of his a large circle of readers. His experimental work at the universities of Chicago and California, as well as in his present position, gives this volume an especial significance.

In his latest work, *The Mechanistic Conception of Life*, Professor Loeb presents many of the current problems in biology,

and discusses the question whether the phenomena of life can be explained by physical and chemical laws. He finds it possible to control by physical or chemical means not merely the processes of reproduction, but also the conduct of animals with reference to environment.

The New York Medical Journal. The profession, as well as everyone interested in biology, will thank the author and the publishers for collecting these essays and placing them before the reading public.

The Chicago Tribune. It is refreshing to contemplate the wonderful exactitude, clearness, honesty, and unanswerable logic of Dr. Loeb.

Heredity and Eugenics. By John M. Coulter, William E. Castle, Edward M. East, William L. Tower, and Charles B. Davenport.

312 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$2.50, postpaid \$2.70

Leading investigators, representing the University of Chicago, Harvard University, and the Carnegie Institution of Washington, have contributed to this work, in which great care has been taken by each contributor to make clear to the general reader the present position of evolution, experimental results in heredity in connection with both plants and animals, the enormous value of the practical application of these laws in breeding, and human eugenics. The volume is profusely illustrated.

The Nation, New York. "Heredity and Eugenics" may be heartily recommended to readers seeking, as beginners, to get in touch with the discussion of these subjects. . . . In most of the lectures there is an admirable reserve, not to say skepticism, in the treatment of large questions which the public is often misled to regard as already and finally settled.

Railway Economics. A Collective Catalogue of Books in Fourteen American Libraries. Prepared by the Bureau of Railway Economics, Washington, D.C.

450 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$3.00, postpaid \$3.28

Much of the literature relating to railways is widely scattered. The student of railway transportation finds it impossible to secure access to any all-embracing sources of information in any one of even the largest general libraries.

In the present work the Bureau of Railway Economics has undertaken to list the works relating to the economics of railway transportation that are catalogued in thirteen of the principal libraries of this country, together with those in its own collection.

The volume can fairly lay claim to being a representative bibliography in the field of railway economics.

It is confidently believed that the work will prove valuable to all interested in the literature of railway transportation, and particularly to the economist and practical railroad man.

The Evening Post, New York. Of all these invaluable aids to the student which the librarians of the country are producing, this is the most exhaustive and workmanlike of any that has been issued in the economic field.

American Permian Vertebrates. By Samuel Wendell Williston, Professor of Paleontology in the University of Chicago.

152 pages, 39 plates, 8vo, cloth; \$2.50, postpaid \$2.68

This work comprises a series of monographic studies with briefer notes and descriptions of new or little-known amphibians and reptiles from the Permian deposits of Texas and New Mexico. The material upon which these studies are based was for the most part collected during recent years by field parties from the University of Chicago. The book is offered as a contribution to knowledge on the subject of ancient reptiles and amphibians, with such summaries and definitions—based chiefly on American forms—as our present knowledge permits. The work is illustrated by the author.

Athenaeum. The paleontologist will welcome the work as a solid contribution to our knowledge of a fauna which is of exceptional interest to the student of evolution, inasmuch as it includes forms that help to bridge over some of the differences between reptiles and amphibians.

Morphology of Gymnosperms. By John M. Coulter, Professor of Botany, and Charles J. Chamberlain, Associate Professor of Botany, in the University of Chicago.

470 pages, 462 illustrations, 8vo, cloth; \$4.00, postpaid \$4.22

This work is a revised and enlarged edition of the book brought out by Professors Coulter and Chamberlain in 1901. Each of the seven great groups is here presented in detail, and a final chapter discusses the problem of phylogeny and points out the evolutionary tendencies. The extinct groups, notably the primitive "seed-ferns," are now included for the first time; and vascular anatomy is fully recognized as a morphological subject of first importance. The entire presentation is thoroughly and system-

atically organized and arranged with a view to the greatest possible clearness. The illustrations are numerous and in large part original.

Nature. The book is an invaluable record, admirably illustrated, of our present knowledge of the older type of seed-plants.

The Historicity of Jesus. A criticism of the contention that Jesus never lived, a statement of the evidence for his existence, an estimate of his relation to Christianity. By Shirley Jackson Case, Assistant Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

360 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postpaid \$1.62

Did Jesus ever live, or is he a mythical personage like the deities of Greece and Rome? is to many people a somewhat startling question. But in recent years his actual existence has been vigorously questioned, and the subject is being given wide notice and discussion. The negative opinion has found supporters in America, England, Holland, France, and Germany. To present a complete and unprejudiced statement of the evidence for Jesus' actual existence is the aim of the author of *The Historicity of Jesus*.

The Nation, New York. It is creditable to American scholarship that the first survey of the entire debate should have been made by a representative of an American divinity school, and that the treatment of the question is adequate and fair in the presentation of the arguments on both sides, and marked by discernment both of the underlying principles and the consequences involved for the religious life.

Sociological Study of the Bible, Showing the Development of the Idea of God in Relation to History. By Louis Wallis, formerly Instructor in Sociology in the Ohio State University.

One volume, bound in cloth; \$1.50, postpaid \$1.68

This book is written on the basis of the modern scientific interpretation of the Bible; but it approaches Bible-study from a new point of view, using the sociological method of research. The ancient Hebrew nation is treated as a social group originating at the point of contact between Amorite city-states and Israelite clans from the Arabian desert. The great struggle within the nation was primarily between the legal usages of the constituent races. This conflict found expression very slowly in terms of

antagonism between the gods of the Israelites and the Amorites. Mr. Wallis' papers on the subject have been appearing for some years in the *American Journal of Sociology*; but they are entirely recast and revised for book publication.

The Dial. A significant and closely reasoned work.

The Scotsman. Whether or not one agrees with Mr. Wallis, the originality and freshness of his views and the marked ability with which they are propounded cannot be denied.

The Minister and the Boy. By Allan Hoben, Associate Professor of Homiletics in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

Illustrated, 180 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.00, postpaid \$1.10

From the first chapter on "The Call of Boyhood," through one on "The Approach to Boyhood," the author leads us by suggestion and informing principle to realize the remarkable opportunity afforded by the raw material "boy," on which the minister may work. Later chapters on play and vocational choice show how to train the boy for citizenship, how responsive he is to the right sort of impetus, and how his religious life may indirectly, and even unconsciously, be stimulated by the proper appeal to his manly instincts, while furnishing him with a normal outlet for his natural enthusiasm. The book is practical throughout, and each chapter is filled with concrete suggestions which are vitalized by the author's actual experience as a basis.

Mr. Hoben's book is not only enlightening and entertaining, but is wonderfully practical. It should be in the hands of every probation officer, pastor, teacher, and parent.—JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY.

Scientific Management in the Churches. By Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago.

66 pages, 12mo, cloth; 50 cents, postpaid 55 cents

Why not apply "scientific management" to the varied activities of the church? is the question asked by Dr. Shailer Mathews in his book. The crying need for it is almost startlingly portrayed, and the broad lines of the plan—the adaptation of "scientific management" to an institution such as the church—are inspiring in their suggestiveness.

The book is of the utmost value to all who belong to the active organization in their church—or who are, in the language of the author, "spiritual workmen."

The Independent. A small volume containing matter of large practical value.

The Continent. Dean Mathews' treatment of the subject is practical, and his suggestions are exceedingly useful.

The Ethics of the Old Testament. By *Hinckley G. Mitchell*, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Tufts College.

420 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$2.00, postpaid \$2.15

The aim of the author is to present a faithful and, as nearly as possible within the limits of a manual, a comprehensive view of the development of ethical ideas among the Hebrew nation. To this end he takes the books, or parts of books, of the Old Testament in the order of their origin, and discusses their teaching, whether direct or indirect, on the duties that men owe to themselves, their families, and the larger world of which they are a part. This is the first volume to be issued in the series of "Handbooks of Ethics and Religion" edited by Shailer Mathews.

Congregationalist and Christian World. It goes far to popularize the results of modern Biblical scholarship, and in general is within the comprehension of ordinary Bible students.

Old Testament Story. Teacher's Manual and Pupil's Notebook. By *Charles H. Corbett*.

Manual, \$1.00, postpaid \$1.09; Notebook, 50 cents, postpaid 59 cents

This latest addition to the Constructive Bible Studies, covering the period from Moses to Solomon, is designed for teachers of pupils from ten to twelve years of age corresponding to grades five and six of the public school. The pupil's equipment consists of a loose-leaf notebook containing a page for each lesson. It includes pictures, maps, outlines, paper models, and an occasional written lesson, thereby providing considerable opportunity for handwork.

The Churchman, New York. Teachers will find much that is helpful in Mr. Corbett's manual.

Unity, Chicago. The unique and really valuable part of the Corbett work is his Pupil's Notebook that accompanies it.

American Poems. Selected and Edited with Illustrative and Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography. By *Walter C. Bronson*, Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in Brown University.

680 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postpaid \$1.68

The book offers a most carefully chosen and well-balanced presentation of the poetic works of Americans, covering the entire period of our history. For the teacher as well as the student the value of the work is greatly enhanced by the comprehensive Notes, Bibliography, and Indices. It is believed that

the book will have the wide popularity of Professor Bronson's earlier collection, *English Poems*, which has been adopted by all leading American colleges.

The Dial. The resources of the special collections of Brown University have supplied the editor with the best authorities for accurate texts, and have made possible the widest range of selections.

San Francisco Call. A notably successful attempt to produce a useful book, against which the charge of injudicious inclusions and exclusions commonly urged against similar works cannot be made.

English Poems. Selected and Edited with Illustrative and Explanatory Notes and Bibliographies. By Walter C. Bronson, Litt. D., Professor of English Literature in Brown University.

- I. OLD ENGLISH AND MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIODS
436 pages, 12mo, cloth; School edition, \$1.00, postpaid \$1.15
Library edition, \$1.50, postpaid \$1.65
- II. THE ELIZABETHAN AGE AND THE PURITAN PERIOD
550 pages, 12mo, cloth; School edition, \$1.00, postpaid \$1.15
Library edition, \$1.50, postpaid \$1.66
- III. THE RESTORATION AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
541 pages, 12mo, cloth; School edition, \$1.00, postpaid \$1.15
Library edition, \$1.50, postpaid \$1.66
- IV. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
635 pages, 12mo, cloth; School edition, \$1.00, postpaid \$1.15
Library edition, \$1.50, postpaid \$1.68

This series of four volumes is intended primarily to afford college classes and general readers a convenient, inexpensive, and scholarly collection of the most important English poetry.

The selections, so far as possible, are complete poems. The notes, though concisely expressed, occupy nearly a hundred pages in each volume. They contain explanations of words and allusions which the average college student might find obscure; statements by the poet or his friends that throw light on the poem; the poet's theory of poetry when this can be given in his own words; quotations which reveal his literary relationships or his methods of work; and extracts from contemporary criticism to show how the poet was received by his own generation. The last-mentioned feature has contributed much to the remarkable success of the series, which is the best general collection of English poetry that has yet been offered at a reasonable price.

The Journal of Education. These volumes are of supreme importance because of their completeness as to material and the scholarly way in which the poems have been annotated.

Questions on Shakespeare. By Albert H. Tolman, Associate Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago.

The exercises on each play follow a logical order, embracing general questions, questions on individual acts and scenes, character-study, the relation of the play to its sources, and questions concerning the text or meaning.

The questions upon the following comedies are being issued in pamphlet form: A Midsummer-Night's Dream, Much Ado about Nothing, I Henry IV, II Henry IV, The Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, The Tempest.

Price 15 cents each, postpaid 17 cents each

Two bound volumes have appeared in this series as follows:

Questions on Shakespeare Part I, Introduction; 75 cents, postpaid 81 cents.

Questions on Shakespeare Part II, contains exercises on the three parts of Henry VI, Richard III, Love's Labour's Lost, The Comedy of Errors, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, A Midsummer-Night's Dream, and all the Poems with the exception of the Sonnets. \$1.00, postpaid \$1.09.

Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Editor of the New Variorum Shakespeare. It is fairly astonishing what a deal of information in all departments of Shakespearian study you have compiled, and set forth alluringly—no small consideration where young people are concerned—within so small a space.

The Elementary Course in English. By James Fleming Hosic, Ph.M., Head of the Department of English in the Chicago Teachers College.

152 pages, 16mo, cloth; 75 cents, postpaid 82 cents

The constantly growing use of this book offers convincing testimony to its value as a practical guide for teachers, supervisors, and parents. It presents in outline a working theory of elementary English, with selected references to the recent literature of the subject. In this way the book is especially adapted to individual study and to group discussions in normal schools, teachers' reading circles, teachers' institutes, and parents' associations. The book contains also a suggestive course of study in composition, grammar, word-study, reading, and literature. Definite standards of attainment in these subjects are indicated for each year. Graded lists of material include stories for reading and for telling, poems for study and memorizing, supplementary reading-books classified by subjects, and selected literary studies for higher grades. The Appendix contains a

list of books to be read to the children, a list of verse collections, and a list of prose collections. The author's long connection with the Department of English in the Chicago Teachers College qualifies him to speak with authority on the subject. The book has been endorsed by the *Course of Study*, the official publication of the Chicago public schools.

Educational Review. A good book. . . . The thoughtful and studious teacher of elementary English will find it full of helpful suggestions and advice.

Agricultural Education in the Public Schools. By Benjamin M. Davis, Professor of Agricultural Education in Miami University.

170 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$1.00, postpaid \$1.12

In this book Professor Benjamin M. Davis has attacked the problem of the co-ordination of all the agencies now at work on the problem of agricultural education. He has performed a service which will be appreciated by all who have any large knowledge of the problem and of the difficulties which the movement encounters. He has made an effort to canvass the whole field and to give a detailed exposition of the forces employed in building up a rational course of agricultural education. He has presented more fully than anyone else the materials which define the problem and which make it possible for the teacher to meet it intelligently. The annotated bibliography at the end of the book will do much to make the best material available for anyone desiring to get hold of this material through independent study. The book serves, therefore, as a general introduction to the study of agricultural education.

Nature. Professor Davis may be congratulated on a most valuable and thoughtful expert contribution to the literature of his subject.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago. Prepared by Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, Associate Professor of Biblical and Patristic Greek and Assistant Director of Haskell Oriental Museum.

140 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$1.00, postpaid \$1.11

This catalogue containing the description of ninety-nine manuscripts in the possession of the University of Chicago was published in connection with the dedication of the Harper

Memorial Library, June 11, 1912. At that time the manuscripts were transferred to permanent quarters in the Manuscript Room of the new Library. Not all the manuscripts of the University are here included, the Greek papyri in Haskell Oriental Museum and the East Indian and other oriental manuscripts being reserved for separate treatment. Most of the manuscripts described in the catalogue came to the University with the Berlin Collection in 1891. The languages of the manuscripts include Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, Dutch, Icelandic, Hebrew, and Arabic.

Outlines of Economics, Developed in a Series of Problems. By Members of the Department of Political Economy of the University of Chicago.

160 pages, interleaved, 12mo, cloth; \$1.00, postpaid \$1.13

This book is an attempt on the part of its authors to make some advances in the direction of improving the current methods of teaching the elementary course in economics. The ideals which have shaped the character of the book are: (1) A belief that the elementary course in economics offers exceptional opportunities for training in thinking and reasoning—a sort of training the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. The inductive-problem method here used is believed to be the one best adapted to accomplish this end. (2) A desire to connect the theoretical principles of economics with the actual facts and with problems of the business world, and to induce the student to apply his knowledge of that world to the subject of study.

The result is a careful, analytical syllabus of the subjects usually covered in the introductory course, accompanied by some 1,200 questions and problems, designed: (a) to afford set problems for written work; (b) to guide the student in his reading, while fostering independent thinking; (c) to give direction to classroom discussion. It is expected that the *Outlines* will be used in connection with some textbook.

Nation. In their *Outlines of Economics, Developed in a Series of Problems*, three members of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Chicago have performed with remarkable thoroughness and grasp a task of great difficulty. The book consists in the main of sets of searching questions, dealing successively with every phase of the great subject, the order being determined by the attempt of the

authors "not only to link economic theory with descriptive material, but in a measure to build the theory up out of the familiar events of economic life"; an attempt in which, we believe, they have succeeded as completely as the case admits.

Pragmatism and Its Critics. By Addison Webster Moore, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago.

296 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.25, postpaid \$1.36

The general discussion of the philosophical movement known as "pragmatism" has awakened so spirited a controversy that the present volume is especially timely and significant. Professor Moore lays stress on three phases of the question: (1) the historical background of the movement; (2) its relation to the conception of evolution; (3) the social character of pragmatic doctrines. *Pragmatism and Its Critics* is a good example of the modern type of philosophical exposition. It is in a free, conversational style, is profound without being difficult, and simple without sacrificing accuracy.

Philosophical Review. No student is likely to read these chapters without receiving valuable help. The last chapter of this group, "How Ideas Work," is especially noteworthy as containing one of the most attractive and forcible presentations of the pragmatist theory of truth and error.

The Theology of Schleiermacher. By George Cross, Professor of Christian Theology in the Newton Theological Institution.

356 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postpaid \$1.65

Professor Cross's book attempts to introduce the English-speaking student to Schleiermacher himself. It consists principally of a condensed "thought-translation" of his greatest work, *The Christian Faith*. The exposition is introduced by the interesting story of Schleiermacher's life, with emphasis on his religious experience. This is accompanied by a luminous account of the changes in Protestantism that necessitated a reconstruction of its doctrines. The work closes with a critical estimate of Schleiermacher's contribution to the solution of present religious problems, which in the judgment of scholars will stand as an extremely valuable portion of the book. Taken together, the translation, the analysis, and the critical estimate reveal Schleiermacher as a pioneer in modern religious thought.

The Christian World, London. This work is as timely as it is able. It is remarkable that, considering the enormous influence of Schleiermacher on modern theology, the English-speaking world has hitherto had such meager opportunity of studying the man and his teaching.

PUBLICATIONS IN SERIES

Publications of the National Society for the Study of Education
(Formerly the National Herbart Society).

The annual reports (each issued in two parts) contain important papers and discussions on pedagogical subjects, concerning which detailed information will be furnished on request. The Yearbooks for 1895-99, for 1902-6, and for 1907-11 have been bound together, the price of each volume being \$5.00, postpaid \$5.30.

Publications of the American Sociological Society.

Six volumes of Papers and Proceedings have been issued. Price per volume, \$1.50, postage extra.

The School Review Monographs.

This is a series of educational papers recently begun under the supervision of the editors of the *School Review*. The first number, *Research within the Field of Education, Its Organization and Encouragement*, will be sent postpaid for 53 cents; the second number, embracing articles on various educational subjects, for 56 cents. Both have been prepared by the Society of College Teachers of Education.

Yearbooks of the Superintendents' and Principals' Association of Northern Illinois.

Seven Yearbooks have been issued. Price 50 cents each, postage extra.

Publications of the Western Economic Society.

Vol. I, Part I, of the Proceedings, *Reciprocity with Canada*, has been issued. Price 75 cents, postpaid 83 cents.

Philosophic Studies (Edited by James Hayden Tufts).

Three numbers have been issued. Price 50 cents each, postpaid 54 cents.

Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.

Six volumes have been published. Detailed list on request.

The Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of America.

Published at intervals by the Society. \$1.00 per volume, postage extra.

Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament.

FIRST SERIES: TEXTS (4 numbers published).

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The Proceedings of the last meeting will be sent postpaid for 58 cents. Many of the back numbers can also be supplied.

Annual Tables of Constants and Numerical Data, Chemical, Physical, and Technological. Issued by an International Commission Appointed by the Seventh International Congress of Applied Chemistry.

We are distributing agents for this publication in the United States. Full information on request.

PERIODICALS

The Biblical World. SHALLER MATHEWS, Editor in Chief. Published monthly, with illustrations. Subscription price, \$2.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents; foreign postage, 68 cents.

The School Review. Edited by the Department of Education in the University of Chicago. Published monthly, except in July and August. Subscription price, \$1.50 a year; single copies, 20 cents; foreign postage, 52 cents.

The Elementary School Teacher. Edited by the Faculty of the Elementary School of the University of Chicago. Published monthly, except in July and August, with illustrations. Subscription price, \$1.50 a year; single copies, 20 cents; foreign postage 46 cents.

The Botanical Gazette. Edited by JOHN M. COULTER. Published monthly, with illustrations. Subscription price, \$7.00 a year; single copies, 75 cents; foreign postage, 84 cents.

The Journal of Geology. Edited by THOMAS C. CHAMBERLIN. Published semi-quarterly, with illustrations. Subscription price, \$4.00 a year; single copies, 65 cents; foreign postage, 53 cents.

The Astrophysical Journal. Edited by GEORGE E. HALE, HENRY G. GALE, and EDWIN B. FROST. Published monthly, except in February and August, with illustrations. Subscription price, \$5.00 a year; single copies, 65 cents; foreign postage, 62 cents.

The American Journal of Sociology. Edited by ALBION W. SMALL. Published bimonthly. Subscription price, \$2.00 a year; single copies, 50 cents; foreign postage, 43 cents.

The Journal of Political Economy. Edited by the Faculty of Political Economy of the University of Chicago. Published monthly, except in August and September. Subscription price, \$3.00 a year; single copies, 35 cents; foreign postage, 42 cents.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

The American Journal of Theology. Edited by the Divinity Faculty of the University of Chicago. Published quarterly. Subscription price, \$3.00 a year; single copies, \$1.00; foreign postage, 41 cents.

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. Edited by ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER. Published quarterly. Subscription price, \$4.00 a year; single copies, \$1.25; foreign postage, 26 cents.

Modern Philology. JOHN M. MANLY, Managing Editor. Published quarterly. Subscription price, \$3.00 a year; single copies, \$1.00; foreign postage, 41 cents.

The Classical Journal. FRANK J. MILLER, ARTHUR T. WALKER, and CHARLES D. ADAMS, Managing Editors. Published monthly, except in July, August, and September. Subscription price, \$1.50 a year; single copies, 25 cents; foreign postage, 24 cents.

Classical Philology. PAUL SHOREY, Managing Editor. Published quarterly. Subscription price, \$3.00 a year; single copies, \$1.00; foreign postage, 23 cents.

The University of Chicago Magazine. Edited by a Board of Alumni. Published nine times a year. Subscription price, \$1.50 a year; single copies, 20 cents; foreign postage, 27 cents.

Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. Published by the Association at the University of Chicago Press. Issued in January, March, April, and May of each year. Subscription price, \$1.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents; foreign postage, 16 cents.

The English Journal. JAMES FLEMING HOSIC, Managing Editor. Published monthly, except in July and August, by the National Council of Teachers of English, at the University of Chicago Press. Subscription price, \$2.50 a year; single copies, 30 cents; foreign postage, 45 cents.

Bibliography of Social Science. Edited by Dr. Hermann Beck, Berlin, and Dr. Charles Kinzbrunner, London, in co-operation with the Department of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. Published monthly. Annual subscription, \$6.00. We are exclusive agents for the United States and Canada. Full information on combination rates with other journals on request. Complete sets of back numbers can be furnished at special rates.

Arrangements have been completed by which the American agency for the following journals of the Cambridge University Press will be in the hands of the University of Chicago Press, beginning January 1, 1913:

Biometrika

Parasitology

Journal of Genetics

The Journal of Hygiene

The Modern Language Review

The British Journal of Psychology

The Journal of Agricultural Science

Correspondence regarding details of service on these journals is invited.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
Chicago, Illinois

